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ΘΟΥΚΥΔΙΔΟΥ

ΠΛΑΤΩΝΟΣ

ΚΑΙ

ΛΥΣΙΟΥ

ΛΟΓΟΙ

ΕΠΙΤΑΦΙΟΙ.



Εκ ΘΕΑΤΡΟΥ ἐν ΟΞΟΝΙΑ,

Ετη αψμγ'.

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ΕΠΙΓΡΑΜΜΑ.

Οἶδε πάτρας ἔνεκα σφιπέρας, εἰς δῆλον ἔθεντο
 Ὀπλά, καὶ ἀντιπάλων ὕβριν ἀπισκίδασαν.
 Μαρνάρομοι δ' ἄρετῆς καὶ δαίματι, σὺν ἐστίωσαν
 Ψυχὰς, ἀλλ' αἰδῶ. κοινὸν ἔθεντο βράβειον,
 Οὐνεκεν Ἑλλήνων, ὥς μὴ ζυγὸν αὐχένι θέντες
 Δαλοσυῆς συμερὰν ἀμφὶς ἔχουσιν ὕβριν.
 Γαῖα δ' πατέρις ἔχει κόλποις τῶν πλεῖστα καμόντων
 Σώματ', ἐπεὶ θνητοῖς ἐκ Διὸς ἦδε κρείσσει.
 Μηδὲν ἀμαρτεῖν ἐστὶ Θεῶν, καὶ πάντα κατερθῆν
 Ἐν βιοτῇ· μοῖραν δ' ἔτι φυγεῖν ἔπρεν.

ΕΠΙΓΡΑΜΜΑΤΑ.

I.

Μυριάσιν ποτὶ τῇδε τριηκοσίαις ἑμάχοντο
Ἐκ Πελοποννήσου χιλιάδες ἥπυρες.

II.

ὦ ξέν', ἄγχιλον Λακεδαιμονίοις ὅτι τῇδε
Κείμεθα, τοῖς κείνων ῥήμασι πειθόμενοι.

III.

Μῆμα τόδε κλεινοῖο Μεγάρου, ὃν ποτὶ Μῆδοι
Σπερχεῖον ποταμὸν κτείναν ἀμεψάμενοι,
Μάντιος· ὃς τότε κῆρας ἐπερχαμένης αἶψα εἰδὼς,
Οὐκ ἔτλη Σπάρτης ἡγεμόνας περιπλῆν.

IV.

Τῶν ἐν Θερμοπύλαις θανόντων
Εὐκλεῆς μὲν ἂν τύχα, καλὸς δ' ὁ
Πότμος, βωμὸς δ' ὁ πέφκος
Προγόνων τε μνάσις, ὁ δ' οἶτος
Ἐπαινος. ἐντάφιον δὲ πύθιον
Οὐτ' εὐρώς, οὔθ' ὁ πανδαμάτωρ
Ἀμαυρώσει χρόνος, ἀνδρῶν ἀγαθῶν.
Ὁ δὲ σῆξες οἰκετῶν εὐδοξίαν
Ἑλλάδος εἶλατο· μαρτυρεῖ δὲ Λεωνίδας
Ὁ Σπάρτας βασιλεὺς, δρεπῆς μέγαν
Λελοιπῶς κόσμον, ἀέναόν τε κλέος.

ΥΠΟΘΕΣΙΣ

ΤΟΥ ΛΟΓΟΥ ΕΠΙΤΑΦΙΟΥ

ΤΟΥ ΠΕΡΙΚΛΕΟΥΣ.

Θακυδ. Συγγρ. Β. λδ'.

ΕΝ δὲ τῷ αὐτῷ χειμῶνι, οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι τῷ πατρίῳ νόμῳ χρώμενοι, δημοσίᾳ ταφὰς ἐποίησαντο τῶν ἐν τῷδε τῷ πολέμῳ περὶ τοὺς ἀποθανόντων, τῶν ποιεῖν ταῦτα μὲν ὅσα περὶ τῆς ταφῆς τῶν ἀπογενομένων, περὶ τῆς σκηλῆς ποιήσαντες, καὶ ὅτι φέρει τῷ αὐτῷ ἕκαστος ἢ τι βύληται. ἐπειδὴ δὲ καὶ ἡ ἐκφορὰ ἦ, λάρνακας κυπαρισσίας ἀγασσιν ἁμαξῶν, φυλῆς ἕκαστης μίαν. ἔνεστι δὲ καὶ τὰ ὅσα ἦς ἕκαστος ἢ φυλῆς. μία δὲ κλίτη κενὴ φέρεται ἐστρωμένη τῶν ἀφανῶν, οἱ δὲ μὴ εὐρεθῶσιν ἐς ἀναίρεσιν. ζυγεκφέρει δὲ ὁ βυλόμενος καὶ ἀγῶν καὶ ξένων. καὶ γυναῖκες πᾶραισιν αἱ περὶ τοὺς ἀποθανόντας, ὅτι τὸν τάφον, ὁλοφρευμένηαι. πῆλσον οὖν ἐς τὸ δημόσιον σῆμα, ὃ ὅστις ὅτι τῷ χαλλίῳ περὶ τῆς πόλεως. (καὶ αἰεὶ ἐν αὐτῷ γάπτουσι τὸς ἐκ τῶν πολέμων, πλήγῃ τὸς ἐν Μαραθῶνι. ἐκείνων δὲ ἀφ' ὧν περὶ τὴν ἀρετὴν κρίναντες, αὐτῶν καὶ τὸν τάφον ἐποίησαν.) ἐπειδὴ δὲ κρύψωσι γῇ, ἀνὴρ ἡρμῆδος ὑπὸ τῆς πόλεως, ὅς ἐστι γῶμη τε δοκῇ μὴ ἀζώετος εἶναι, καὶ

Α

ἀξιώ-

ἀξιώματι παύσῃ, λέγει ἐπ' αὐτοῖς ἔπαινον τὸν ὀρέποντα·
 μετὰ δὲ τῷτο ἀπέρχεται. ὥδε μὲν γὰρ τοῦσι καὶ ἀφ' ἑ-
 παυτοῦ τῷ πολέμῳ, ὅποτε συμβαίνει αὐτοῖς, ἐχρῶντο τῷ
 νόμῳ. ὅτι δ' ἐν τοῖς παλαιῶσι τοῖςδε Περσέσσι ὁ Ξαν-
 θίππυς ἡρέθη λέγειν. καὶ ἐπειδὴ χαιρὸς ἐλάμβανε, παροελ- 5
 θὼν ἀπὸ τῷ σήματος ὅτι βῆμα ὑψηλὸν πεποιημένον,
 ὅπως ἀκούειτο ὡς ὅτι πλεῖστον τῷ ὀμίλῳ, ἔλεγε τοιάδε.

ΠΕΡΙΚΛΕΟΥΣ

ἤρου

ΘΟΥΚΥΔΙΔΟΥ

ΛΟΓΟΣ ΕΠΙΤΑΦΙΟΣ.

ΟΙ μὲν πολλοὶ τῶν ἐνθάδε ἤδη εἰρηκότων
 ἐπαινῶσι τὸν περὶ αὐτὸν τὰ νόμῳ τὸν
 λόγον τόνδε, ὡς καλὸν εἶπαι τοῖς ἐκ τῶν πολέ-
 μων θαπτομένοις ἀγορεύειν αὐτόν. ἐμοὶ δ' αὖ
 5 ἀρκεῖν ἐδόκει εἶναι, ἀνδρῶν ἀγαθῶν ἔργῳ γενο-
 μένων, ἔργῳ καὶ δηλοῦσθαι τὰς τιμὰς, οἷα καὶ
 νῦν περὶ τὸν τάφον τόνδε δημοσίᾳ πρᾶσσου-
 σθέντα ὁρᾶτε· καὶ μὴ ἐν ἐνὶ ἀνδρὶ πολλῶν ἀρε-
 τῶν κινδυνεύειν, εὔτε καὶ χεῖρον εἰπὼν ἡ πει-
 10 στήναι. χαλεπὸν γὰρ τὸ μετεῖως εἰπεῖν, ἐν δὲ

μόλις καὶ ἡ δόκησις τῆς ἀληθείας βεβαιῶται.
 ὁ, τε γὰρ ξυμειδὼς καὶ εὖνις ἀκροατῆς τάχ' ἂν
 πὶ ἐνδεεσέως πρὸς αὐτὸν βέλεται τε καὶ ὀπί-
 σσεται νομίσσειε δηλοῦσθαι· ὁ, τε ἄπειρος, ἔστιν
 αὐτῷ καὶ πλεονάζεσθαι, ἀλλὰ φθόνον, εἴ τι ὑπὲρ τινὸς 5
 ἑαυτῷ φύσιν ἀκέραιον. μέχρι γὰρ τῶδε ἀνεκτοὶ οἱ
 ἔπαινοί εἰσι πρὸς ἑτέρων λεγόμενοι, ἐς ὅσον ἂν
 καὶ αὐτὸς ἑκάστος οἴηται ἱκανὸς εἶναι δραστήσιον
 ὧν ἤκαστος· τῶν δὲ ὑπερβάλλοντι αὐτῶν φθονῶν-
 τες, ἤδη καὶ ἀπιστοῦσιν. Επειδὴ δὲ τοῖς πάλαι 10
 ἔτιως ἐδοκιμάσθη ταῦτα χαλῶς ἔχειν, καὶ καὶ
 ἐμὲ ἐπόμενον τῶν νόμων, πειράσθαι ὑμῶν τῆς
 ἐκάστου βελησιέως τε καὶ δόξης τυχεῖν ὡς ὀπί-
 σσεται.

Αἰξομαι δὲ ὑπὸ τῶν παλαιῶν παρῶν. 15
 δίκαιον γὰρ αὐτοῖς καὶ πρέπον δὲ ἅμα ἐν τῶν
 ταῦτα τινὸς πρὸς ταῦτα τῆς μνήμης δίδοσθαι.
 τινὸς γὰρ χάριτι αἰεὶ οἱ αὐτοὶ οἰκῶντες, ἀλλὰ
 καὶ τῶν ὀπίσθιων μέχρι τῶδε ἐλθόντων
 δι' ἀρετὴν πρέδωσαν. καὶ ἐκείνοι τε ἀξιοὶ ἐπαι- 20
 νου, καὶ ἐπὶ μᾶλλον οἱ πατέρες ἡμῶν. κτησάμενοι
 γὰρ πρὸς οἷς ἐδέξαντο ὅσιν ἔχομεν ἀρχήν,
 ὅτι

ὅκ' ἀπίνως ἡμῖν τοῖς νῦν περσοκατέλιπον. τὰ
 δὲ πλέω αὐτῆς αὐτοὶ ἡμεῖς οἶδε, οἱ νῦν ἐπ' ὄν-
 τες μάλιστα ἐν τῇ κατ' ἐσθλότητι ἡλικίᾳ ἐπνυξή-
 σαμεν, καὶ τὴν πόλιν τοῖς πᾶσι περσοκυβιάσαμεν
 5 καὶ ἐς πόλεμον καὶ ἐς εἰρήνην αὐταρκεσάτην.
 ὣν ἐγὼ τὰ μὲν καὶ πολέμους ἔργα, οἷς ἕκαστα
 ἐκτίσθη, ἢ εἴπῃ αὐτοὶ ἢ οἱ πατέρες ἡμῶν Βάρ-
 βαρον ἢ Ἑλληνα πόλεμον ὀπιόντα περσὺ μως
 ἡμυνάμεθα, μακρηγορεῖν ἐν εἰδόσιν ἔβηλό-
 10 μῃρος, εἰάσω. ἀπὸ δὲ οἷας τε ἐπιτηδύσεως ἤλ-
 δομεν ἐπ' αὐτὰ, καὶ μετ' οἷας πολιτείας, καὶ
 τρώπων ἐξ οἷων μεγάλα ἐχρύετο, ταῦτα δηλώ-
 σας περσόντων, εἴμῃ καὶ ὅπῃ τὸν τῶνδε ἔπαινον,
 νομίζων ἐπὶ τε τῷ παρόντι ὅκ' ἂν ἀπρεπῇ
 15 λεχθῆναι αὐτὰ, καὶ τὸν πάντα ὅμιλον καὶ ἀσῶν
 καὶ ξένων σύμφορον εἶναι αὐτῶν ἐπακῶσαι.

Χρώμεθα γὰρ πολιτείᾳ καὶ ζηλώσει τὰς τῶν
 πέλας νόμους, ὡς δ' εἶγμα δὲ αὐτοὶ μάλλον
 ὄντες πῶς, ἢ μιμνήμενοι ἑτέρας. καὶ ὄνομα μὲν,
 20 ἀλλὰ τὸ μὴ ἐς ὀλίγους ἀλλ' ἐς πλείονας οἰκεῖν,
 Δημοκρατία κέκληται. μέτεσι δὲ, καὶ μὲν τὰς
 νόμους, περὶ τὰ ἴδια ἀφ' ὧν πᾶσι τὸ ἴσον,
 καὶ

καὶ δὲ τιμὴν ἀξίωσιν, ὡς ἕκαστος ἐν τῷ εὐδοκίμῳ,
 ἔκ δ' ἀπὸ μέρους τὸ πλεῖον ἐς τὰ κοινὰ ἢ ἀπ' ἀρε-
 τῆς περιμαίεται· ἐδ' αὖ καὶ πενίαν, ἔχων δέ
 τι ἀγαθὸν δρᾶσαι τιμὴν πόλιν, ἀξιώματος ἀφα-
 νεία κεκώλυται. ἐλευθέρως δὲ τὰ τε πρὸς τὸ
 κοινὸν πολιτεύομεν, καὶ ἐς τιμὴν πρὸς ἀλλήλους
 τῶν κατ' ἡμέραν ἐπιτηδευμάτων ὑποψίαν,
 ἔτι δ' ὀργῆς τὸν πέλας, εἰ κατ' ἡδονὴν τι δρᾷ,
 ἔχοντες, οὐδὲ ἀζημίως μὲν, λυπηραῖς δὲ τῇ
 ὄψι, ἀχθηδόνας προσπιθέμενοι. ἀνεπαχθῶς δὲ
 τὰ ἴδια περισομιλῶντες, τὰ δημόσια ἀλλὰ δέος
 μάλιστα ἔτι φοβουμένους, τῶν τε αἰεὶ ἐν ἀρχῇ
 ὄντων ἀκροάσας, καὶ τῶν νόμων, καὶ μάλιστα αὐ-
 τῶν ὅσοι τε ἐπ' ὠφελείᾳ τῶν ἀδικημάτων κείν-
 ται, καὶ ὅσοι ἀγραφοὶ ὄντες αἰχρύνειν ὁμολογε-
 μένους φέρουσι.

Καὶ μὲν καὶ τῶν πόνων πλείστας ἀναπαύ-
 λας τῇ γνώμῃ ἐποιήσαμεθα, ἀγῶσι μὲν γε
 καὶ θυσίαις διετησίαις νομίζοντες, ἰδίαις δὲ κατὰ
 σκευαῖς εὐπρεπέσιν, ὧν κατ' ἡμέραν ἢ τέσσερις
 τὸ λυπηρὸν ἐκπλήσας. ἐπεισέρχεται δὲ ἀλλὰ μέ-
 γεθος τῆς πόλεως ἐκ πάσης γῆς τὰ πάντα·

καὶ

καὶ ξυμβαίνει ἡμῖν μηδὲν οἰκειότερα τῇ ἀπο-
λαύσει τὰ αὐτὰ ἀγαθὰ γιγνόμενα καρπεῖσθαι,
ἢ καὶ τὰ τῶν ἄλλων ἀνθρώπων.

Διαφέρουμεν δὲ καὶ ταῖς τῶν πολεμικῶν
5 μελέταις τῶν ἐνδοτίων τοῖςδε. Πῶς τε γὰρ πό-
λιν κοινῶς πᾶρόμεν, καὶ οὐκ ἔστιν ὅτε ξενηλα-
σίαις ἀπείργωμέν τινα ἢ μαθήμαίῃ, ἢ θεά-
μαίῃ, ὃ μὴ κρυφθῇ ἂν τις τῶν πολεμίων
ιδὼν ὠφεληθείη. πτεύοντες ἔταῖς παρὰ τοὺς
10 τοπλέον καὶ ἀπάταις, ἢ τῷ ἀφ' ἡμῶν αὐτῶν ἐς
τὰ ἔργα εὐψύχωι. Καὶ ἐν ταῖς παιδείαις, οἱ μὲν
ὑπὸ πόνῳ ἀσκήσας, εὐθύς νέοι ὄντες, τὸ ἀνδρείον
μετέρχονται· ἡμεῖς δ', ἀναιμῶς διατρώμενοι,
οὐδὲν ἥσσον ὑπὸ τῆς ἰσοπαλεῖς κινδυνέας χω-
15 ρῶμεν. τεκμήριον δέ· ἔτε γὰρ Λακεδαιμόνιοι
καθ' ἐκάστης, μὲν πάντων δ' ἐς τὴν γῆν ἡμῶν
στρατεύουσι· πῶς τε τῶν πέλας αὐτοὶ ἐπελθόν-
τες, ἔχοντες ἐν τῇ ἀλλοτεία τῆς παρὰ τῶν
οἰκείων ἀμυνομένων μαχόμενοι ταπλεῖω κρα-
20 τῶμεν. ἀθρόα τε τῇ δυνάμει ἡμῶν ἐδείξαι πο-
πόλεμος ἐνέτυχεν, ἀλλὰ πῶς τῆς ναυτικῆς τε ἅμα
ὑπὸ μέλειαν, καὶ πῶς ἐν τῇ γῇ ὑπὸ πολλὰ ἡμῶν
αὐτῶν

αὐτῆς ὀπίπεμψιν. ἦν δὲ περ μορίῳ πινὶ προσ-
 μύξωσι, κρατήσαντες τε τιναὶς ἡμῶν, πάντας αὐ-
 χῆσιν ἀπεώσθαι, καὶ νικηθέντες, ὑφ' ἀπάντων
 ἡσπῆας. καίτοι εἰ ῥαθυμία μᾶλλον ἢ πόνων
 μελέτη, καὶ μὴ μῦ νόμων τοπλείον ἢ τρύπων
 ἀνδρείας ἐθέλομεν κινδυνεύειν, φερόμεται
 ἡμῖν τοῖς τε μέλλουσιν ἀλγεινοῖς μὴ περ-
 χόμεναι, ἢ ἐς αὐτὰ ἐλθῶσι, μὴ ἀτολμοτέρους
 τῶν αἰὲ μοχθέντων φαίνεας.

Καὶ ἐν τε τούτοις τὴν πόλιν ἀξίαν εἶναι θαυ- 10
 μάζεσθαι, καὶ ἔτι ἐν ἄλλοις. φιλοκαλῶμεν
 τε γὰρ μετ' εὐτελείας, ἢ φιλοσοφῶμεν ἀνευ
 μαλακίας· πλεῖστον τε ἔργα μᾶλλον ἐν καιρῷ
 ἢ λόγῳ κόμπῳ χρώμεθα· καὶ τὸ πένεας ἔχ
 ὁμολογεῖν πινὶ αἰσχρὸν, ἀλλὰ μὴ ἀφιδύγειν 15
 ἔργῳ, αἰσχρὸν. ἐνι τε τοῖς αὐτοῖς οἰκείων ἅμα
 καὶ πολιτικῶν ὀπιμέλεια, καὶ ἑτέροις πρὸς
 ἔργα τετραμμήνοισι, τὰ πολιτικὰ μὴ ἐνδεῶς
 γινῶναι. μόνοι γὰρ τὸν τε μηδὲν τῶνδε μετέ-
 χοντα, οὐκ ἀφραγμονα ἀλλ' ἀχρεῖον νομί- 20
 ζομεν· καὶ αὐτοὶ ἦτοι κρίνομεν γε ἢ ἐνδυμέ-
 μεθα ὁρθῶς τὰ φρεσίνεα, ἢ τὰς λόγους τοῖς
 ἔργοις

ἔργοις βλάβειν ἡγούμενοι, ἀλλὰ μὴ περι-
 दाχθῆναι μᾶλλον λόγῳ πρῶτον ἢ ὅτι αὐτοὶ
 ἔργῳ ἐλθεῖν. ἀφ' ἐκείνου γὰρ δὴ καὶ τότε
 ἔχομεν, ὥστε πολλοὶν τε οἱ αὐτοὶ μάλιστα, καὶ
 5 πρὸς ὧν ὁπχειρήσομεν, ἐκλογίζεσθαι. ὁ τοῖς
 ἄλλοις ἀμαθία μὲν θράσος, λογισμὸς δ' ὅκνον
 φέρει. κλέπται δ' ἂν πρὸς ψυχρῷ δικαίως κρι-
 θεῖεν οἱ τὰ τε δεινὰ καὶ ἡδέα σαφέστατα γινώ-
 σκοντες, καὶ ἀφ' αὐτῶν μὴ ἀποτρέπομενοι ἐκ
 10 τῶν κινδυνῶν. Καὶ τὰ ἐς ἀρετὴν ἡδυνώμεθα
 τοῖς πολλοῖς· ἐ γὰρ πάροντες εὖ, ἀλλὰ δρῶν-
 τες, κτώμεθα τὰς φίλους. βεβαιότερος δὲ ὁ
 δράσας πρὸς χάριν, ὥστε ὀφειλομένην δι' εὐνοίας
 ὧ δέδωκε σῶζειν· ὁ δ' ἀντοφείλων, ἀμβλύ-
 15 τερεσθῆ, εἰδὼς ὅτι ἐς χάριν, ἀλλ' ἐς ὀφείλημα
 πρὸς ἀρετῇ ἀποδώσων. καὶ μόνοι ἐκ τῆς ξυμ-
 φέρουτος μᾶλλον λογισμῷ, ἢ τῆς ἐλευθερίας
 τῷ πιστῷ ἀδεῶς τινα ὠφελεῖμεν.

Ξυμμελών τε λέγω, πρὸς τε πᾶσαν πόλιν τῆς
 20 Ἑλλάδος παύδουσιν εἶναι, καὶ καθ' ἕνατον δοκεῖν
 ἂν μοι τὸν αὐτὸν ἄνδρα πρὸς ἡμῶν ὅτι πλείους
 εἶδη, καὶ μετὰ χαρίτων μάλιστα ἂν εὐτραπέλως

10 ΠΕΡΙΚΛΕΟΥΣ

τὸ σῶμα αὐτάρεκες πρέχεσθαι. καὶ ὥς ἔλο-
γων ἐν τῷ πρὸντι κόμπος τάδε μᾶλλον ἢ ἔρ-
γων ὅτιν ἀλήθεια, αὕτη ἡ δυνάμεις τῆς πό-
λεως, ἣν ἀπὸ τῶνδε τῶν ἔργων ἐκτιησάμεθα,
σημαίνει. μὴ γὰρ τῶν νῦν ἀκοῆς κρείστων ἐς
πείραν ἔρχεται, καὶ μόνη οὔτε τῷ πολεμῶ
ἐπελθόντι ἀνανάκτησιν ἔχει ὑφ' οἷων χακοπα-
θῇ, οὔτε τῷ ὑπηκόῳ κατὰμεμψιν ὥς ἔχ' ὑπ'
ἀξίῳ ἀρχεται. μετὰ μεγάλων δὲ σημείων καὶ
ἔδητοι ἀμάετρεν γε τὴν δυνάμιν παρὰ τοῦτο 10
μυροί, τοῖς τε νῦν καὶ τοῖς ἐπεῖτα θαυμαστούμηναι·
καὶ οὐδὲν παροδρόμοι ἔτε Ομηροῦ ἐπαμνέεα,
ἔτε ὅστις ἐπεσι μὲν θαυτίκα τέρεψεν, τῶν δ' ἔρ-
γων τὴν ὑπόνοιαν ἢ ἀλήθεια βλάψεν· ἀλλὰ
πᾶσαν μὲν γάλασαν καὶ γὰρ ἐσθραπὴν τῇ ἡμέ- 15
τέρα τόλμῃ καταναγκάσαντες γυεῖσθαι, παν-
ταχοῦ δὲ μνημεῖα χακῶν τε καὶ γαθῶν αἰδία
ξυμχατοκίσαντες. πρὸς τοιαύτης οὖν πόλεως
οἶδε τε γυναικίως, δικαιοῦντες μὴ ἀφαιρεθῆναι
αὐτῶν, μαχόμενοι ἐτελεύτησαν, καὶ τῶν λει- 20
πομυρῶν πᾶντα πινὰ εἰκὸς ἐφέλειν ὑπὲρ αὐτῆς
χάμνειν.

Διὸ δὴ καὶ ἐμήκυνα τὰ παρὰ τῆς πόλεως,
 διδασκαλίαν τε ποιέμενός μὴ παρὰ ἴσου ἡμῖν
 εἶναι τὸν ἄγωνα καὶ οἷς τῶνδε μηδὲν ὑπάρχει
 ὁμοίως, καὶ τὴν εὐλογίαν ἅμα ἐφ' οἷς νῦν λέγω
 5 φθνεράν σημείοις καθεύσας. καὶ εἰρήνην αὐτῆς τὰ
 μέγιστα. ἀλλὰ γὰρ τὴν πόλιν ὑμνήσω, αἱ τῶνδε καὶ
 τῶν τοιῶνδε δρετὰ ἐκόσμησαν· καὶ ἐκ ἂν πολλοῖς
 τῶν Ελλήνων ἰσθρόπῃ, ὥσπερ τῶνδε, ὁ λόγος
 τῶν ἔργων φανερῇ. δοκῶ δέ μοι δηλοῦν ἀνδρὸς
 10 δρετὴν, παρὰ τῇ τε μνηύσῃ, καὶ τελευταία βε-
 βαιῶσα, ἢ νῦν τῶνδε κατὰ σφύρας. καὶ γὰρ τοῖς
 τὰλλα χεῖρας δίκαιον τὴν ἐς τὰς πολέμους
 ὑπὲρ τῆς πατρίδος ἀνδραγαθίαν παρτίθεσθαι.
 ἀγαθὴ γὰρ κακὸν ἀφαιρῶσάντες, κοινῶς μᾶλλον
 15 ὠφέλησαν, ἢ ἐκ τῶν ἰδίων ἐβλάψαν. τῶνδε
 δὲ οὔτε πλῆθος τις τὴν ἐπὶ ἀπόλαυσιν παρτι-
 μύσας ἐμαλακίῃ, οὔτε πείρας ἐλπίδι, ὥς καὶ
 ἐπὶ ἀφαιρῶν αὐτὴν πλετήσκειν, ἀναβολὴν
 τῆς δεινῆς ἐποίησατο· τὴν δὲ τῶν ἐνδοπίων πι-
 20 μωρίαν ποθεινοτέρην αὐτῇ λαβόντες, καὶ κιν-
 δυνῶν ἅμα τόνδε κάλλιστον νομίσαντες, ἤρα-
 λήθησαν μετ' αὐτῆς τὰς μὲν τιμωρεῖσθαι, τῶν

δὲ ἐφίεσθαι· ἐλπίδι μὲν τὸ ἀφθνῆς τῷ χαλῶ-
 θῶσειν ὅππῃς ἐψεύδῃς, ἔργῳ δὲ πρὸς τῷ ἤδη ὁρῶ-
 μέν· σφίσι δὲ αὐτοῖς ἀξιοῦντες πεποιθέναι· καὶ
 ἐν αὐτῷ τῷ ἀμυνάσθαι καὶ παθεῖν, μᾶλλον
 ἡγησάμενοι, ἢ τῷ ἐνδόντες σώζεσθαι, τὸ μὲν
 αἰσχρὸν τῷ λόγῳ ἐφυγον, τὸ δ' ἔργον τῷ σώ-
 ματι ὑπέμειναν, ἣ δὲ ἐλάχιστος καμρόν τυχῆς
 ἅμα ἀκμῇ τῆς δόξης μᾶλλον ἢ τῷ δέξας ἀπηλ-
 λάγησαν.

Καὶ οἷδε μὲν περὶ σπικόντως τῇ πόλει τοιοῖδε¹⁰
 ἐχθρόντο· τὰς δὲ λοιπὰς χεῖρ ἀσφαλεσέραν ἦ
 εὔχεσθαι, ἀτολμοτέρων δὲ μηδὲν ἀξιοῦν τιλὸν
 ἐς τὰς πολεμίας ἀφάνισαν ἔχειν, σκηπτοῦντας
 μὴ λόγῳ μόνῳ τιλὸν ὠφέλειαν· ἦν ἂν τις πρὸς
 ὁδὸν χεῖρον αὐτὰς ὑμᾶς εἰδότας μηκύνει, λέ-¹⁵
 γων ὅσα ἐν τῷ τὰς πολεμίας ἀμύνεσθαι ἀγα-
 θὰ ἐνεστίν· ἀλλὰ μᾶλλον τιλὸν τῆς πόλεως δύ-
 ναμιν καθ' ἡμέραν ἔργῳ θεωμεν, ἣ ἐρασὰς
 γιγνομένων αὐτῆς. καὶ ὅταν ὑμῖν μεγάλη
 δόξη εἶναι, ἐνδυμενέμενοις ὅππῃ τολμῶντες, καὶ²⁰
 γιγνώσκοντες τὰ δέοντα, καὶ ἐν τοῖς ἔργοις αἰ-
 σχνόμενοι ἄνδρες αὐτὰ ἐκτίσαντο· καὶ ὁπότε
 καὶ

καὶ πείρα τε σφαλείησαν, οὐκ ἐν καὶ τὴν πό-
 λιν γε τῆς σφετέρως ἀρετῆς ἀξιῶντες σερίσκων,
 χάλλισον δὲ ἔρανον αὐτῇ περιέμενοι. κοινῇ γὰρ
 τὰ σώματα δίδόντες, ἰδίᾳ τὸν ἀγῆρων ἔπαινον
 5 ἐλάμβανον, καὶ τὸν τάφον Ἰπσημότατον, ὅς κ
 ἐν ᾧ κένταυ μᾶλλον, ἀλλ' ἐν ᾧ ἡ δόξα αὐτῶν
 ὡς αὖ τὰ ἐντυχόντι αἰεὶ καὶ λόγῳ καὶ ἔργῳ καλεῖται
 αἰμνήσος καταλείπειται. ἀνδρῶν γὰρ Ἰπσιφιδῶν
 πᾶσα γῆ τάφῳ, καὶ ἐς σπηλῶν μόνον ἐν τῇ οἰ-
 10 κείᾳ σημαίνει Ἰπσιγραφῇ, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐν τῇ μὴ
 πεσομένη ἀγραφῇ μνήμη παρ' ἑκάστῳ τῆς
 γνώμης μᾶλλον ἢ τῶ ἔργῳ ἐνδαιτύεται. ἐς νῦν
 ὑμεῖς ζηλώσαντες, καὶ τὸ εὐδαιμον, τὸ ἐλεύθερον,
 τὸ δὲ ἐλεύθερον, τὸ εὐψυχον κρίνετε, μὴ περὶ
 15 ῥᾶδιε τὰς πολεμικὰς κινδύνους. ἐπεὶ οἱ κακο-
 περαγῶντες δεισιμότερον ἀφειδοῖεν ἂν τῶ βίου,
 οἷς ἐλπίς ὅς κ' ἔσ' ἀγαθόν, ἀλλ' οἷς ἡ ἐνδυτῖα
 μεταβολὴ ἐν τῷ ζῆν ἐπὶ κινδυνεύεται, καὶ ἐν
 οἷς μάλιστα μεγάλα τὰ ἀφαιρούνται, ἦν τι πλεί-
 20 στωσιν. ἀλγεινότερα γὰρ ἀνδρεί γε φρόνημα ἔχοντι
 ἢ ἐν τῷ μῦθῳ τῶ μαλακισθῆναι χάκωσις, ἢ ὁ μῦθ
 ῥώμης καὶ κοινῆς ἐλπίδος ἅμα γιγνώμενος ἀναι-
 δής γένεσθαι.

Διόπτει

Διόπερ ἢ τὰς τῶνδε νῦν τοκέας, ὅσοι πάρεστε,
 ἐκ ὀλοφύρομαι μᾶλλον ἢ παρὰ μνηστῆσιν. ἐν
 πολυτρόποις γὰρ ξυμφοραῖς ἐπίστανται τρα-
 φέντες. τὸ δ' εὐτυχές, οἱ ἂν τῆς εὐπρεπεστάτης
 λάχωσιν, ὥσπερ οἶδε μὲν νῦν, τελευτῆς, ὑμεῖς 5
 δὲ λύπης· καὶ ἐν οἷς ἐνδουδαμονῆσαι τε ὁ βίος
 ὁμοίως καὶ ἐν τελευτῇσαι ξυμεμετρήθη. χαλε-
 πὸν μὲν οὖν οἶδα πείθειν ὄν, ὧν καὶ πολλάκις
 ἔξετε ὑπομνήματα ἐν ἄλλων εὐτυχίαις, αἷς
 ποτὲ ἢ αὐτοὶ ἠγάλλεσθε· καὶ λύπη ἐχ' ὧν ἂν 10
 τις μὴ πειρασάμενος ἀγαθῶν σερίσκηται, ἀλλ'
 ἢ ἂν ἐλαῖς γενόμενος ἀφαιρεθείη. καρτερεῖν ὅ
 χρεῖ καὶ ἄλλων παίδων ἐλπίδι, οἷς ἐπὶ ἡλικία
 τέκνωσιν ποιῆσθαι. ἰδίᾳ τε γὰρ τῶν οὐκ ὄντων
 λήθη οἱ ἐπιγινόμενοι πῖσιν ἔσονται· ἢ τῇ πό- 15
 λει διχόθεν, ἐκ τε τῆ μὴ ἐρημύσεως, ἢ ἀσφα-
 λείᾳ ξυνοίσειν. ἢ γὰρ οἷόν τε ἴσον πῖ ἢ δίκαιον
 βεβλῦεσθαι οἱ ἂν μὴ καὶ παῖδας ἐκ τῆ ὁμοίου
 παρὰ βλαβλόμενοι κινδυνεύωσιν. ὅσοι δ' αὖ πρῆ-
 βήκατε, τὸν τε πλείονα, κέρδι' ὄν, εὐτυχέετε 20
 βίον· ἠγείδε καὶ τόνδε βραχυὸν ἔσεσθαι, καὶ τῇ
 τῶνδε εὐκλείᾳ κουφίζεσθαι. τὸ γὰρ φιλότιμον
 ἀγέων

ἀγῆρων μόνον· ἢ ἐκ ἐν τῷ ἀχρείῳ τῆς ἡλικίας
τὸ κερδαίνειν, ὥσπερ πινες φασί, μᾶλλον τέρπει,
ἀλλὰ τὸ πρᾶττα.

Παισὶ δ' αὖ ὅσοι τῶνδε πάρεσε, ἢ ἀδελφοῖς,
5 ὁρῶ μέγαν τὸν ἀγῶνα. τὸν γὰρ ἐκ ὄντα ἅπας
εἶωθεν ἐπαυεῖν. καὶ μόλις ἀν κατ' ὑπερβολὴν
δρετῆς οὐχ ὅμοιοι ἀλλ' ὀλίγω χείρσι κερ-
δαίνετε. Φθόνος γὰρ τοῖς ζῶσι πρὸς τὸν ἀντί-
παλον· τὸ ὃ μὴ ἐμποδὼν ἀνδραγαθόνισω εὐνοία
10 τετίμηται.

Εἰ δέ με δὲ ἢ γυναικείας τὶ δρετῆς, ὅσαι νῦν
ἐν χηρείᾳ ἔσονται, μνηστῆραι, βραχεῖα πῦραι-
νέσθ' ἅπαν σημαίνω. τῆς τε γὰρ ὑπαρχέσης φύ-
σεως μὴ χείροσι γυεῖσθαι, ὑμῖν μεγάλη ἡ δόξα,
15 ἢ οἷς ἀν' ἐπ' ἐλάχιστον δρετῆς πέρι ἢ φόρου ἐν
τοῖς ἄρσεσι κλέος ἦ.

Εἴρηται ἢ ἐμοὶ λόγῳ καὶ τὸν νόμον ὅσα εἶ-
χον πρὸς φορεᾶ· καὶ ἔγω, οἱ θαπτόμενοι, τὰ
μὲν, ἤδη κεκόσμηνται· τὰ δέ, αὐτῶν οὐ πᾶ-
20 δας τὸ ὑπὸ τῷδε δημοσίᾳ ἢ πόλει μέχρ' ἡβῆς
θρέψθ', ὠφέλιμον σέφθουσιν τοῖσδε τε καὶ τοῖς
λειπομένοις τῶν τοιῶνδε ἀγώνων πρὸς τῶνδε.
ἀθλα

16 ΠΕΡΙΚΛ. ΕΠΙΤΑΦ.

ἄθλα γὰρ οἷς κεῖται ἀρετῆς μέγιστα, τοῖςδε καὶ
ἄνδρες ἀρίστοι πολιτεύεσσι. νυνὶ δὲ ὑπολοφυ-
εάμενοι ὅν περ σὴν ἐχάσω, ἄπιτε.

ΠΛΑΤΩΝΟΣ

ΜΕΝΕΞΕΝΟΣ,

Η,

ΕΠΙΤΑΦΙΟΣ ΛΟΓΟΣ.

Σωκράτης, Μενέξενος.

Εξ ἀρχῆς, ἢ πόθεν Μενέξενος; ΜΕ. Εξ ἀρχῆς,
 ὦ Σώκρατες, καὶ ἀπὸ τῆ βυλδότηείᾳ. ΣΩ. Τί
 μάλιστα σὺ πρὸς βυλδότηειον; ἢ δηλαδὴ ὅτι παιδεύσεως
 καὶ φιλοσοφίας ὅτι τέλει ἡγῆ εἶναι; καὶ ὡς ἰχθυῶς ἥδη ἔχον,
 5 ὅτι τὰ μείζω ὅτι νοεῖς πρέπεσθαι; καὶ ἄρχειν ἡμῶν, ὦ
 θαυμάσιε, ὅτι χειρεῖς τῶν πρεσβυτέρων, τηλικῶτ' ὦν;
 ἵνα μὴ ἐκλίπη ἡμῶν ἡ οἰκία αἰετὶς πῆμα ἡμῶν ὅτι μελητιῶ
 πῆρεχομένη; ΜΕ. Εἰάν σύ γε, ὦ Σώκρατες, ἔᾳς καὶ συμ-
 βυλδῇ ἄρχειν, πρεσβυτέρων εἰ δὲ μὴ, οὔ. Νυνὸ μὲνοι
 10 ἀφικόμην πρὸς τὸ βυλδότηειον, πυθόμενος ὅτι ἡ βυλδὴ
 μέλλει αἰρεῖσθαι ὅστις ἐρᾷ ὅτι τοῖς ἀποθανῶσι. παρὰς γὰρ
 οἶδ' ὅτι μέλλουσι ποιεῖν. ΣΩ. Πάνυ γε. ἀλλὰ τίνα εἴ-
 λοντο; ΜΕ. Οὐδένα· ἀλλὰ ἀνεβάλοντο εἰς τιῶν αἰετιῶν.
 οἶμαι μὲνοι Ἀρχῖνον ἢ Δίωνα αἰρεθήσεσθαι. ΣΩ. Καὶ
 15 μὲν, ὦ Μενέξενε, πολλαχοῦ κινδυεύει καλὸν εἶναι τὸ εἰ
 πολέμῳ ἀποδῆσκειν· καὶ γὰρ ταφῆς καλῆς τε καὶ μεγα-
 λοπρεπῆς τυγχάνει· καὶ εἰάν πενθῇ τις ὦν τελευτήσῃ, καὶ

ἐπαίνε αὐτὸν ἔτυχε· καὶ εἰς φαῦλες ἦ, ὑπὸ ἀνδρῶν σοφῶν τε
καὶ οὐκ εἰκῇ ἐπαμυνούτων, ἀλλὰ οὐ πολλοῦ χρεῖα λόγους
πρὸς κλυτασμένους· οἱ οὕτω καλῶς ἐπαμύνουσιν, ὥστε καὶ τὰ
πρὸςόντα καὶ τὰ μὴ πρὸς ἐχέουσι λέγοντες, καλλίστῃ πῶς
τοῖς ὀνόμασι ποικίλλοντες, ῥητεύουσιν ἡμῶν τὰς ψυχὰς, 5
καὶ τὴν πόλιν ἐγκωμιάζοντες καὶ πάντα τρεῖς, καὶ τὴν
τετελευτηκότας ἐν τῷ πολέμῳ, καὶ τὴν πρὸςόντων ἡμῶν
ἀπαντα τὴν ἐμπεραθεῖν, καὶ αὐτοὺς ἡμᾶς τὴν ἐπὶ ζῶν-
ται ἐπαμυνούσας. ὥστε ἔγωγε, ὦ Μενέξενε, γενναίως πάν-
τα διήτησα, ἐπαμυνόμενος ὑπὸ αὐτῶν· καὶ ἐχέστοτε ἔστηκα 10
ἀκροάμενος καὶ κηλεύμενος, ἡγούμενος ἐν τῷ πρὸς ἀχρήμα
μείζονα καὶ γενναίωτερος καὶ καλλίονα γεγονέναι καὶ οἷα δὴ
τὰ πολλὰ αἰεὶ μὲν ἐμοὶ ξένοι πᾶσι ἐπὶ οἰαί καὶ ξυνακρόων-
ται πρὸς οὓς ἐγὼ σεμνότερος ἐν τῷ πρὸς ἀχρήμα γίνο-
μαι· καὶ γὰρ ἐκείνοι ταῦτα ταῦτα δοκῶσι μοι πάσχειν 15
καὶ πρὸς ἐμὲ καὶ πρὸς τὴν ἄλλω πόλιν, θαυμασιωτέραν
αὐτῇ ἡγεῖσθαι εἶναι ἢ πρὸς ἑτέρας, ὑπὸ τῷ λόγῳ
ἀναπειρόμενοι· καὶ μοι αὕτη ἡ σεμνότης πρὸς ἀχρήμα ἡμέ-
ρας πλείω ἢ πρὸς· ὅπως ἑαυτοὺς ὁ λόγος τε καὶ ὁ φθόγγος
πρὸς τῷ λέγοντος ἐκδύεται εἰς τὰ ὦτα, ὥστε μόγις τε 20
τάρτη ἢ πέμπτη ἡμέρα ἀναμνηστικῶς ἐμαυτοῦ, καὶ ἀ-
νάμνησις ὅτι γῆς εἰμι· τέως δὲ οἶμαι μονοῦν ἐν μακάρων
νήσοις οἰκεῖν. οὕτως ἡμῶν οἱ ῥήτορες δεξιοὶ εἰσιν. ΜΕ. Αἰ
οὐ πρὸς ἀχρήμας, ὦ Σώκρατες, τὴν ῥήτορας· νῦν μὲντοι
οἶμαι ἐγὼ τὸν αἰρεθέντα ὅτι πάντις εὐπορήσει· ὅτι ὑπογίγῃ 25
ἢ παντράπασιν ἢ αἰρετοῖς γέγονεν· ὥστε ἴσως ἀναγκασθήσεται
ὁ λέγων ὡς περ αὐτοχεδιάζειν. ΣΩ. Πόθεν, ὦ γαί; εἰσιν
ἐχέστοις

ἐκείνοις τέτων λόγῳ πρὸς κλυταπόνοισι καὶ ἅμα ὁδὸν αὐτο-
 ρεδιάζειν τά γε τοιαῦτα χαλεπὸν· εἰ μὴν ᾧ δέοι Ἀθηναίους
 ἐν Πελοποννησίοις εὖ λέγειν, ἢ Πελοποννησίους ἐν Ἀθηναίοις,
 ἀγαθοῦ ἀνὴρ ῥήτορας δέοι τῷ πείσονται καὶ εὐδοκμήσουσι·
 5 ὅταν δέ τις ἐν τέτοις ἀγωνίζεται ὥσπερ καὶ ἐπαινεῖ, ὁδὸν
 μέγα δοκῇ εὖ λέγειν. ΜΕ. Οὐκ οἶδ', ὦ Σώκρατες; ΣΩ.
 Οὐ μέντοι, μὰ Δία. ΜΕ. Ἡ οἶε οἷός τ' ἀνέηαι αὐτὸς
 εἰπεῖν, εἰ δέοι, καὶ ἔλοιτό σε ἡ βουλή; ΣΩ. Καὶ ἐμοὶ
 μέν γε, ὦ Μενέξενε, ὁδὸν θαυμαστὴν, οἷόν τ' εἶναι εἰπεῖν, ὦ
 10 τυγχάνει διδάσκαλος οὕτω καὶ πάνυ φαύλη πρὸς ῥητορικῆς,
 ἀλλ' ἢ περ καὶ ἄλλους πολλὰς καὶ ἀγαθοὺς ἐποίησε ῥητορας,
 εἷνα δὲ καὶ ἀγαθέροντα τῶν Ἑλλήνων, Περικλέα τὸν Ξο-
 θίππου. ΜΕ. Τίς αὕτη; ἢ δηλονότι Ἀσπασίαν λέγεις;
 ΣΩ. Λέγω γάρ· καὶ Κόννον γε τὸν Μητροβίου. ὅτοι γάρ
 15 μοι δύο εἰσὶ διδάσκαλοι· ὁ μὲν μουσικῆς· ἡ δὲ ῥητορικῆς.
 οὕτω μὲν οὕτω πρεφόμενον ἄνδρα ὁδὸν θαυμαστὴν δεινὸν εἶναι
 λέγειν. ἀλλὰ καὶ ὅστις ἐμοὶ χάκιον ἐπαυδεύῃ, μουσικῶς
 μὴν ὑπὸ Ἀάμωνα παιδευθεὶς, ῥητορικῶς δὲ ὑπὸ Ἀντι-
 φῶντος τῷ Ράμνοσιου, ὅμως καὶ ὅστις οἷός τ' εἴη Ἀθηναίους
 20 γε ἐν Ἀθηναίοις ἐπαινῶν εὐδοκμεῖν. ΜΕ. Καὶ τί ἀνέχοις
 εἰπεῖν, εἰ δέοι σε λέγειν; ΣΩ. Αὐτὸς μὲν πρὸ ἐμαυτοῦ
 ἴσως ὁδὸν. Ἀσπασίας δὲ καὶ χθὲς ἠκεσάμην, φρασεύσας
 ὅτι τάφιον λόγον πρὸς αὐτὸν τέτων. ἤκουσε γὰρ ἅπερ σὺ
 λέγεις, ὅτι μέλλοιεν Ἀθηναῖοι αἰρεῖσθαι τὸν ἐρῶντα· ἐπειτα τὰ
 25 μὲν ἐκ τῷ πρῶτον μοι δίδει, οἷα δέοι λέγειν, τὰ δὲ,
 πρῶτον ἐσκεμμένη· ὅτε, μοι δοκεῖ, συνετίθει τὸν ὅτι-
 τάφιον λόγον ὃν Περικλῆς εἶπε, περιλείμματ' ἅπτα ἔξ

ἐκείνῃ συλλογῶσα. ΜΕ. Ἡ καὶ μνημονεύσαις ἀν' αὐτῆς λέγει Ἀσπασία; ΣΩ. Εἰ μὴ ἀδικῶ γε. ἐμάνθην γέ τι πρὸ αὐτῆς καὶ ὀλίγῃ πληγὰς ἔλαβον ὅτι ἐπελανθανόμην. ΜΕ. Τί ἔν' εἰ δὴ λήθης; ΣΩ. Ἀλλ' ὅπως μή μοι χαλεπανθῇ ἢ διδάσκαλος, ἀν' ἔξενέγκω αὐτῆς τὸν λόγον. ΜΕ. Μηδ' αὖτις, ὦ Σώκρατες· ἀλλ' εἰπέ, καὶ πάνυ μοι χαρεῖν, εἴτε Ἀσπασίας βούλει λέγειν, εἴτε ὅτρου. ἀλλὰ μόνον εἰπέ. ΣΩ. Ἀλλ' ἴσως μοι καταγελάσῃ, ἀν' σοὶ δόξω, πρεσβύτης ὄν, ἐπὶ πᾶσι. ΜΕ. Οὐδαμῶς, ὦ Σώκρατες· ἀλλ' εἰπέ παντὶ τρόπῳ. ΣΩ. Ἀλλὰ μέντοι σοὶ γε δὴ χαρεῖ- 10
 ζεσθαι· ὥστε καὶ ὀλίγου, εἰ με κελεύοις ἀποδύντα ὀρχήσασθαι, χαριστάμην ἀν', ἐπειδὴ γε μόνω ἐσμέν· ἀλλ' ἄκχε· ἔλεγε γὰρ ὡς ἐγὼμαι, ἀρξαμένη λέγειν ἀπ' αὐτῆς τῶν τεθνεώτων, οὕτως.

Εργῷ μὲν ἡμῖν οἶδ' ἔχουσι τὰ παροσκήκοντα
 σφίσιν αὐτοῖς· (ὧν τυχόντες πορεύονται
 τὴν εἰμαρμένῳ πορείαν, προπεμφθέντες κοινῇ
 μὲν ὑπὸ τῆς πόλεως, ἰδίᾳ δὲ ὑπὸ τῶν οἰκείων)
 5 λόγῳ δὲ δὴ τὸν λειπόμηνον κόσμον ὃ, τε νόμος
 παροστάτης ἀποδοῦναι τοῖς ἀνδράσι, καὶ χρη-
 ῖστον γὰρ εὖ παροσθέντων, λόγῳ καλῶς ῥη-
 θέντι μνήμη καὶ κόσμος τοῖς παράξασιν γίνεται
 παρὰ τῶν ἀκουσάντων. δὲ δὴ τοῖς τε τινὸς λό-
 10 γου, ὅστις τὰς μὲν τετελευτηκότας ἱκανῶς ἐπαμ-
 νέσειαι, τοῖς δὲ ζῶσιν εὐμενῶς παροσέσειαι· ἐκ-
 γόνους μὲν καὶ ἀδελφοὺς μιμεῖσθαι τὴν τῶνδε
 ἀρετὴν παροσκαλοῦμεν· πατέρας δὲ καὶ μη-
 15 τέρας, καὶ εἵπνες τῶν ἀνωθεν ἔτι παροσγόνων λεί-
 πονται, τέρας δὲ παροσμιθέμεν. Τίς οὖν ἂν
 ἡμῖν τοῖςτος λόγος φανείη; ἢ πόθεν ἂν ὁρθῶς
 ἀξαιμένα ἀνδρας ἀγαθὰς ἐπαμνῶντες, οἱ ζῶν-
 τες τε οὐδ' ἑαυτῶν εὐφρανῶν δι' ἀρετῶν, καὶ
 τὴν τελευτῶν ἀντὶ τῆς τῶν ζώντων σωτηρίας
 20 ἠλλάξοντο;

Δοκδ μοι χεῖναι, κτ' φύσιν, ὥσπερ ἀγαθοὶ
 ἐγένοντο, ἔτω καὶ ἐπαινεῖν αὐτούς. ἀγαθοὶ γὰρ ἐγέν-
 οντο διὰ τὸ φιῦσαι ἐξ ἀγαθῶν. τὴν εὐγένειαν
 οὖν πατρῶτον αὐτῶν ἐγκωμιάζωμεν· δεύτερον
 δὲ, τροφὴν τε καὶ παιδείαν· ὅπῃ δὲ τέτοις, τὴν
 τῶν ἔργων ἀρετὴν ὁπδεύωμεν, ὡς καλὴν καὶ
 ἀξίαν τέτων ἀπεφάναντο.

Τῆς δ' εὐχρύας πατρῶτον ὑποῆρξε τοῖσδε ἡ
 τῶν πατρῶνων γένεσις, οὐκ ἐπιλαίῳ οὔσα, ὅθεν
 τὰς ἐκείνης τέτης ἀποφηνάμενη μετοικῆσας ¹⁰
 ἐν τῇ χώρᾳ, ἄλλοθεν σφῶν ἠκόντων, ἀλλ' αὐ-
 τόχθονας, καὶ τὰ ὄντι ἐν πατρίδι οἰκῆσας καὶ
 ζῶσας· καὶ τεφομενίας οὐκ ὑπὸ μητρῶς, ὡς
 ἄλλοι, ἀλλ' ὑπὸ μητρὸς, τῆς χώρας ἐν ἣ ὤκεν.
 καὶ νῦν κείσθαι τελευτήσαντας ἐν οἰκείοις τόποις ¹⁵
 τῆς τεκνέως καὶ θρεψάσης καὶ ὑποδεξαμένης.
 Δικαιότατον δὲ κοσμήσθαι πατρῶτον τὴν μητέρα
 αὐτῆς. οὕτω γὰρ συμβαίνει ἅμα καὶ ἡ τῶνδε
 εὐχρύα κοσμεμένη. Ἐστὶ δὲ ἀξία ἡ χώρα καὶ
 ὑπὸ πάντων ἀνθρώπων ἐπαινεῖσθαι, ἢ μόνον ὑφ'
 ἡμῶν· πολλαχῇ μὲν καὶ ἄλλῃ, πατρῶτον δὲ καὶ ²⁰
 μέγιστον, ὅτι τυγχάνει εἶσα θεοφιλῆς. μαρτυρεῖ
 δὲ

δὲ ἡμῶν παρ' λόγῳ, ἢ τ' ἀμφισβητησάντων παρὶ
 αὐτῆς Θεῶν ἔρις τε καὶ κρίσις. ἦν δὲ Θεοὶ ἐπή-
 νεσαν, πῶς οὐχ' ἔσθ' ἀνθρώπων γε συμπάντων
 δικαία ἐπαινεῖσθαι; Δεύτερος δὲ ἔπαινος δι-
 5 καίως αὖ αὐτῆς εἶη, ὅτι ἐν ἐκείνῳ παρ' ἡρόνῳ ἐν
 ᾧ ἢ πᾶσα γῆ ἀνεδίδεχ' καὶ ἔφυζον παντοδαπὰ,
 θηρία τε καὶ βοτάνη, ἐν τούτῳ ἢ ἡμετέρας, θηρίων
 μὲν ἀγρίων ἀγρονόος καὶ καθαρά ἐφάδην ἐξελέ-
 10 ξατο δὲ τ' ζώων καὶ ἐγέννησεν ἄνθρωπον, ὃ συνέσθ
 τε ὑπερέχοντα τῶν ἄλλων, καὶ δίκην καὶ Θεὸς μόνον
 νομίζει. μέγα δὲ τεκμήριον τούτῳ παρ' λόγῳ
 ὅτι ἦδε ἔτεκεν ἢ γῆ οὐδ' αὖ τῶνδ' ἐκ καὶ ἡμετέρας
 παρονομοῦν. πᾶν γὰρ τὸ τέκνον προφύων ἐχθ' ὅπι-
 τηδεῖαν ᾧ αὖ τέκνη. ᾧ καὶ γυνὴ δόλη τεκῆσα τε
 15 ἀληθῶς, καὶ μὴ, ἀλλ' ὑποβαλλομένη, εἰ μὴ
 ἔχη πηγὰς τροφῆς παρ' ἡμισυμύῳ. ὃ δὲ καὶ ἢ
 ἡμετέρας γῆ τε καὶ μήτης ἰκανὸν τεκμήριον πρέ-
 χεται ὡς ἀνθρώπου γυνησαμένη. μόνη γὰρ
 ἐν τῷ τότε καὶ παρῶν προφύων ἀνθρωπείαν
 20 ἦνεγκε τὸν τῶν πυρῶν καὶ κερτῶν καρπὸν, ᾧ
 κάλλιστα καὶ ἀρίστα τρέφεται τὸ ἀνθρώπειον
 γένος, ὡς παρ' ὅντι τούτῳ τὸ ζῶον αὐτὴ γεννησαμένη.
 μάλ-

μᾶλλον δὲ ὑπὲρ γῆς ἢ γυναικὸς προσήκει δέ-
 χεσθαι τοιαῦτα τεκμήρια. ἔ γάρ γῃ γυναικα
 μεμύμηται κυήσῃ καὶ γυνήσῃ, ἀλλὰ γυνὴ γυνῷ.
 τέττε δὲ τῷ καρπού σὺν ἐφθόνησεν, ἀλλ' ἐνειμε
 καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις. μετὰ δὲ τῷτο ἐλαίου γένεσιν, ⁵
 πόσιων δ' ἔρωγι, ἀνῆκε τοῖς ἐκγόνοις. θρεψα-
 μένη δὲ καὶ αὐξήσασα πρὸς ἡβῃ, ἀρχοντὰς
 καὶ διδασκάλους αὐτῇ θεοὶ ἐπηγάγετο. ὧν τὰ
 μὲν ὀνόματα πρέπει εἶναι τῶ τοιῷδε ἔαν. ἴσμεν
 γὰρ οἱ τὸν βίον ἡμῶν κατασκοδύσαντες, πρὸς τε ¹⁰
 πλεονεξίαν καὶ ἡμέραν διαίταν τέχνας πορ-
 ρύσασθαι, καὶ πρὸς πλεονεξίαν τῆς χώρας
 φυλακὴν ὀπλῶν κτήσιν τε καὶ χερσὶν διδασκά-
 λους. γυνήγεντες δὲ καὶ παιδευθέντες ἔτι
 οἱ τῶνδε πρόγονοι, ὥκεν πολιτείαν κατασκοδα- ¹⁵
 σάμενοι, ἥς ὁρθῶς ἔχει ἀφ' ἐλαχίστων ἐπιμενη-
 σθῆναι. πολιτεία γὰρ, τροφή ἀνθρώπων ὅστι
 καλὴ μὲν, ἀγαθῶν. ἢ δὲ ἐνδοτία, κακῶν.

Ὡς οὖν ἐν καλῇ πολιτείᾳ ἐτράφησαν οἱ
 πρόγονοι ἡμῶν, ἀναγκαῖον δηλῶσαι δι' ἣν δὴ ²⁰
 κακῆνοι ἀγαθοὶ καὶ οἱ νῦν εἰσιν, ὧν οἶδε τυγ-
 χάνεσιν ὅντες οἱ τετελευτηκότες. ἢ γὰρ αὕτη

πολιτεία καὶ τότε ἦν καὶ νυν ἄριστοκρατία, ἐν
 ἣ νυν τε πολιτεύομεθα, καὶ τὸν αἰὲ χρόνον ἔξ
 ἐκείνου ὡς ταπολλά. καλὸς δὲ ὁ μὲν αὐτῷ,
 Δημοκρατίαν, ὁ δὲ, ἄλλο, ὃ ἂν χαίρη· ἔστι δὲ
 5 τῇ ἀληθείᾳ μετ' εὐδοξίας πλήθους ἄριστοκρα-
 τία. βασιλεῖς μὲν γὰρ αἰὲ ἡμῖν εἰσιν· οὗτοι δὲ,
 ποτὲ μὲν ἐκ γένους, ποτὲ δὲ αἵρετοί. ἐγκρατές
 δὲ τῆς πόλεως ταπολλά τὸ πλῆθος· τὰς δὲ
 ἀρχὰς δίδωσι καὶ κρατός τοῖς αἰὲ δόξασιν ἀρί-
 10 στοῖς εἶναι· καὶ οὔτε ἀδενεία, οὔτε πενία, οὔτ'
 ἀγνοσία πατέρων, ἀπελήλαται ὁδοίς, ὁδοὶ
 τοῖς ἐνδυτίοις τετίμηται, ὥσπερ ἐν ἄλλαις πό-
 λεσιν· ἀλλὰ εἰς ὅρου, ὁ δόξας σοφὸς ἢ ἀγα-
 θὸς εἶναι κρατὶς ἢ ἀρχή. Αἰτία δὲ ἡμῖν τῆς
 15 πολιτείας ταύτης, ἣ ἔξ ἴσθ' ἔστι γένεσις· αἱ μὲν γὰρ
 ἄλλαι πόλεις ἐκ πωλυτοδαπῶν κρατεσθου-
 σμύλαι ἀνθρώπων εἰσὶ καὶ ἀνωμάτων· ὥστε
 αὐτῶν ἀνώμαλοι ἢ αἱ πολιτεῖαι, τυραννίδες
 τε ἢ ὀλιγαρχίαι. οἰκῶσιν οὖν, ἔνιοι μὲν δέλας,
 20 οἱ δὲ δεσπότας ἀλλήλας νομίζοντες· ἡμεῖς δὲ
 καὶ οἱ ἡμέτεροι, μᾶς μητρὸς πάντες, ἀδελ-
 φοὶ Φιώντες, ἐκ ἀξιοῦμεν δέλοισι ὁδοὶ δεσπόται

ἀλλήλων εἶναι· ἀλλ' ἡ ἰσογονία ἡμᾶς ἡ κατὰ
 φύσιν ἰσονομίαν ἀναγκάζει ζητεῖν κατὰ νόμον,
 καὶ μηδενὶ ἄλλῳ ὑπείκειν ἀλλήλοις, ἢ δρετῆς
 δόξῃ καὶ φρονησέως. ὅθεν δὴ ἐν πάσῃ ἐλευθε-
 ρίᾳ τετραμμύροι οἱ τῶνδε πατέρες, καὶ οἱ ἡμέ-
 τερες, καὶ αὐτοὶ ἔτοι, καὶ καλῶς φιῶτες, πολλὰ
 δὴ καὶ καλὰ ἔργα ἀπεφώνοντο εἰς πάντας ἀν-
 δρώπας καὶ ἰδίᾳ καὶ δημοσίᾳ· οἰόμενοι δὲν ὑπὲρ
 τῆς ἐλευθερίας καὶ Ἑλλησιν ὑπὲρ Ἑλλήνων
 μάχεσθαι, καὶ Βαρβάρους ὑπὲρ ἀπάντων τῶν ¹⁰
 Ἑλλήνων.

Εὐμόλπε μὲν οὖν καὶ Ἀμαζόνων ὅπιστρα-
 τουσάντων ἔπ' ἑπὶ πλὴν χώραν, καὶ τῶν ἔπι περ-
 τέρων, ὡς ἡμυνόντο, καὶ ὡς ἡμῶν Ἀργείοις
 πρὸς Καδμείας, καὶ Ἡρακλείδαις πρὸς Ἀρ- ¹⁵
 γείας, ὅ, τε χρόνος βραχὺς ἀξίως διηγήσατο,
 ποιηταὶ τε αὐτῶν ἤδη καλῶς πλὴν δρετῶν ἐν
 μουσικῇ ὑμνήσαντες, εἰς πάντας μεμνηύκασιν.
 εἰάν οὖν ἡμεῖς ὁπχειρῶμεν τὰ αὐτὰ λόγῳ ψι-
 λῶ κομῆν, τάχ' ἂν δούτεροι φαινοίμεθα. ²⁰
 ταῦτα μὲν οὖν ἀγὰ ταῦτα δοκεῖ μοι εἶναι, ἐπειδὴ
 καὶ ἔχει πλὴν ἀξίαν. ὧν δὲ ἔτε ποιητὴς πῶς δόξαν
 ἀξίαν

ἀξίαν ἐπ' ἀξίοις λάβων ἔχθ', ἐπὶ τέ βῃ ἐν
ἀμνησία, τούτων πᾶσι μοι δοκῶ χεῖνα ὅπι-
μνησθῆναι, ἐπαινῶντα τε καὶ πορμνῶμνον τοῖς
ἄλλοις, ἐς ὧδάς τε καὶ πλὴν ἄλλω ποίησιν αὐ-
5 τὴς θείας, πρεπόντως τῶν πορμνῶντων.

Εἰς ὃ τῶν ὧν λέγω πορμνῶντα, Πέρσας ἡγε-
μῶνους τῆς Ἀσίας, καὶ δουλεμῶνους πλὴν Εὐρώ-
πῃ, ἔχον οἱ τῆςδε τῆς χώρας ἔκγονοι, γονεῖς
δὲ ἡμέτεροι. ὧν καὶ δίκαιον καὶ χεῖ πορμνῶντον
10 μεμνημῶνους, ἐπαινέσαι αὐτῶν πλὴν δρετῶν.
Δὲ δὴ αὐτῶν ἰδεῖν, εἰ μέλλῃ τις χαλῶς ἐπα-
νεῖν, ἐν ἐκείνῳ πᾶσι χεῖν γυμῶντον λόγῳ, ὅτε
πᾶσα μὲν ἡ Ἀσία ἐδῶλθε τείτῳ ἡδὴ βασιλῆ.
ὧν ὁ μὲν πορμνῶντος, Κῦρῳ, ἐλδὸθῶσας Πέρ-
15 σας τὴς αὐτοῦ πολίτας πᾶσι αὐτοῦ πορμνῶντα,
ἅμα καὶ τὴς δεσπότης Μήδοις ἐδῶλῶσατο, καὶ τῆς
ἄλλης Ἀσίας μέχρῃς Αἰγύπτου ἡῖξεν· ὁ δὲ
υἱὸς αὐτοῦ, Αἰγύπτου τε καὶ Λιβύης, ὅσον οἶόν τε
ἦν Ἰπβαίνεν· τείτος δὲ Δαρείῳ, πᾶσι μὲν
20 μέχρῃς Σκυθῶν πλὴν δρετῶν ὠρείσατο, ναυσὶ δὲ,
τῆς τε θαλάττης ἐκράτησε καὶ τῶν νήσων· ὥσε
μὴδὲ ἀξιοῦν ἀντίπαλον αὐτῶν μὴδὲνα εἶναι.

αἱ δὲ γνῶμαι δεδουλωμένα ἀπάντων ἀνθρώ-
πων ἦσαν. οὕτω πολλὰ καὶ μεγάλα καὶ μά-
χημα γένη καταδεδελωμένη ἦν ἡ Περσῶν δρχή.
αἰπασάμενος δὲ Δαρεΐου ἡμᾶς τε καὶ Ερε-
τείας, Σάρδεσιν ὑπεβουλευσάμενος παρφασιζό-
μενος, πέμψας μυριάδας μὲν πεντήκοντα
ἔντε πλοίοις καὶ ναυσὶ, ναῦς δὲ τετρακοσίας,
Δάτιν δὲ ἄρχοντα, εἶπεν ἡγεῖν ἄγοντα Ερε-
τείας καὶ Ἀθηναίους, εἰ βούλοιο τινὲς ἑαυτοῦ
κεφαλὴν ἔχειν. ὁ δὲ πλεύσας εἰς Ερέτειαν ¹⁰
ἐπ' ἀνδρας οἱ τῶν τότε Ελλήνων ἐν τοῖς εὐδο-
κίμοις ἦσαν τὰ πρὸς τὸν πόλεμον, καὶ οὐκ
ὀλίγοι, τούτους ἐχειρώσατο μὲν ἐν τρισὶν ἡμέ-
ραις. διηρδυνήσατο δὲ αὐτῶν πᾶσαν τινὲς χώ-
ραν, ἵνα μηδεὶς ἀποφύγοι, τοῖς τῶν τρόπῳ. ὑπὲρ ¹⁵
τὰ ὄρια ἐλθόντες τῆς Ερετεικῆς οἱ στρατιῶται
αὐτῶν, ἐκ θαλάττης εἰς θαλάτταν μεταστέλλαντες,
συνάψαντες τὰς χεῖρας, διήλθον ἅπασαν τινὲς
χώραν, ἵν' ἔχοιεν τῷ βασιλεῖ εἰπεῖν ὅτι οὐδεὶς
σφᾶς ἀποπεφθυγὼς εἴη. τῇ δ' αὐτῇ ἀφαινοίᾳ ²⁰
καταγὰγοντο ἐξ Ερετείας εἰς Μαραθῶνα, ὡς
ἔτοιμον σφίσιν ὄν καὶ Ἀθηναίους ἐν τῇ αὐτῇ ταύτῃ
ἀνάγκῃ

ἀνάγκη ζεύξασθαις Ερετρεῦσιν, ἄγειν. τέτων
 δὲ, τῶν μὲν ποταχθέντων, τῶν δ' Ὀπχιεξ-
 μύων, οὔτ' Ερετρεῦσιν ἐβοήθησεν Ἑλλήνων οὐ-
 δείς, οὔτε Ἀθηναίους πλὴν Λακεδαιμονίων.
 5 οὔτοι δὲ τῇ ὑπεραίᾳ τῆς μάχης ἀφίκοντο. οἱ δ'
 ἄλλοι πάντες ἐκπεπληγμένοι, ἀγαπῶντες πλὴν
 ἐν τῷ πρῶντι σωτηρίαν, ἡσυχίαν ἤχον. Ἐν τέτῳ
 δὴ ἂν τις γρόμμος γνοίη οἷοι ἄρα ἐτύγχιστον
 ὄντες πλὴν ἀρετῇ οἱ Μαργαῶνι δεξάμενοι πλὴν
 10 τῶν Βαρβάρων δυνάμει, καὶ κολασάμενοι πλὴν
 ὑπερηφάνειαν ὅλης τῆς Ἀσίας, καὶ ποῦτοι
 γήσονται τρέπαια τῶν Βαρβάρων· ἡγεμόνες καὶ
 διδάσκαλοι τοῖς ἄλλοις γρόμενοι ὅτι ἐκ ἁμα-
 ρος εἴη ἡ Περσῶν δύναμις, ἀλλὰ πᾶν πλῆθος
 15 καὶ πᾶς πλῆθος ἀρετῇ ὑπείκε. Ἐγὼ μὲν οὖν
 ἐκείνοις οὗτο ἄνδρας φημὶ ἐ μόνιον τῶν σω-
 μάτων τῶν ἡμετέρων πατέρας εἶναι, ἀλλὰ καὶ
 τῆς ἐλευθερίας τῆς τε ἡμετέρας καὶ συμπαντων
 τῶν ἐν τῇδε τῇ ἡπείρῳ. εἰς ἐκεῖνο γὰρ τὸ ἔργον
 20 ἀποβλέψαντες, καὶ τὰς ὑμέρας μάχας ἐτόλ-
 μισαν ἀγκυδιωδύειν οἱ Ἕλληνες ὑπὲρ τῆς
 σωτηρίας, μαθηταὶ τῶν Μαργαῶνι γρόμμοι.
 Τὰ

Τὰ μὲν οὖν ἀριστεία παρ' λόγῳ ἐκείνοις ἀναγε-
 τέον· τὰ δὲ δευτερεῖα, τοῖς περὶ Σαλαμῖνα ἢ
 ἐπ' Ἀρτεμισίῳ ναυμαχήσαι ἢ νικήσαι. καὶ
 γὰρ τούτων τῶν ἀνδρῶν πολλὰ μὲν ἂν τις ἔχοι
 διελθεῖν, καὶ οἷα ὁπλόντα ὑπέμειναν χαλὰ τε
 γλῶ ἢ κτ' θάλατταν, καὶ ὡς ἡμῖν αὐτοῖς ταῦτα.
 ὁ δέ μοι δοκῇ καὶ ἐκείνων κάλλιστον εἶναι, τίς τε
 μνησθήσομαι, ὅτι τὸ ἐξῆς ἔργον τοῖς Μαργαῶνι
 διεπράξασθε. οἱ μὲν γὰρ Μαργαῶνι τοσούτον
 μόνον ἐπεδείξασθε τοῖς Ἕλλησιν, ὅτι χαλὰ γλῶ 10
 οἷόν τε ἀμύνασθαι οὐδὲν Βαρβάρους, ὀλίγοις πολ-
 λούς· ναυσὶ δὲ ἐπὶ ἦν ἄδηλον. καὶ δόξαν εἶχον
 Πέρσαι ἀμαχοὶ εἶναι χαλὰ θάλατταν, ἢ πλήθει
 καὶ πλῆτει, καὶ τέχνῃ ἢ ῥώμῃ. τίς τοι ἄξιον
 ἐπαινεῖν τῶν ἀνδρῶν τῶν τότε ναυμαχησάντων, 15
 ὅτι τὸν ἐχρόμνον φόβον διέλυσαν τῶν Ἑλλήνων,
 καὶ ἔπαυσαν φοβεμύρους πολλῆθος νεῶν τε καὶ
 ἀνδρῶν. ὑπ' ἀμφοτέρων δὲ ξυμβαίνει, τῶν τε
 Μαργαῶνι μαχησαμένων καὶ τῶν ἐν Σαλα-
 μῖνι ναυμαχησάντων, παροδυσθῆναι οὐδὲν ἄλλως 20
 Ἕλληνας, ὑπὸ μὲν τῶν, χαλὰ γλῶ, ὑπὸ δὲ τῶν,
 κτ' θάλατταν, μαθόντας καὶ ἐκιδέντας μὴ φο-
 βεῖσθαι

εἶδαι οὖν Βαρβάρους. Τρίτον δὲ λέγω τὸ ἐν
 Πλαταιαῖς ἔργον καὶ δριθμῶ καὶ δρετῇ γηέας
 τῆς Ἑλληνικῆς σωτηρίας· κοινὸν ἦδη τῷ Λακε-
 δαιμονίων τε καὶ Ἀθηναίων. τὸ μὲν οὖν μέγ-
 5 σον καὶ χαλεπώτατον οὗτοι πάντες ἤμυναν,
 καὶ ἀφ' αὐτῶν πρὸς δρετὴν νῦν τε ὑφ' ἡμῶν
 ἐγκωμιάζονται, καὶ εἰς τὸν ἑπείτα χρόνον ὑπὸ
 τῶν ὕστερον.

Μετὰ ὃ τῷ, πολλὰ μὲν πόλεις τῶν Ἑλ-
 10 λήνων ἔτι ἦσαν μετὰ τῷ Βαρβαρόν, αὐτὸς δὲ
 ἠγγέλλετο βασιλεὺς ἀφαινοῦν ὡς ἑπὶ χει-
 ρήσων πάλιν ἐπὶ οὖν Ἑλλήνας. δίκαιον δὲ καὶ
 τέτων ἡμᾶς ὀπιμνησθῆναι, οἱ τοῖς τῶν περὶ
 15 ἔργοις τέλος τῆς σωτηρίας ἐπέδθησαν, ἀνα-
 ραθῆναι καὶ ἐξελάσαντες πᾶν τὸ βάρ-
 βαρον ἐκ τῆς θαλάσσης. ἦσαν ὃ οὗτοι οἱ τε ἐπ'
 Εὐρυμέδοντι ναυμαχήσαντες, καὶ οἱ εἰς Κύπρον
 στρατεύσαντες, καὶ οἱ εἰς Αἴγυπτον πλεύσαντες,
 καὶ ἄλλοι πολλοὶ ὧν χρὴ μεμνῆσθαι, καὶ
 20 καὶ χάριν αὐτοῖς εἶδέναι ὅτι βασιλέα ἐποίησαν
 δέιστον, τῇ ἑαυτοῦ σωτηρίᾳ τὸν νομῶν περὶ
 χεῖν, ἀλλὰ μὴ τῇ τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἐπιβουλεύειν
 φθορᾷ.

φθορᾶ. καὶ οὗτος μὲν δὴ πάση τῇ πόλει διη-
τλήθη ὁ πόλεμος, ὑπὸ ἑαυτῷ τε καὶ τῶν
ἄλλων ὁμοφώνων, πρὸς οὗτον Βαρβάρους.

Εἰρήνης δὲ γυομνῆς, καὶ τῆς πόλεως πτω-
μνῆς, ἦλθεν ἐπ' αὐτὴν, ὃ δὴ φίλος ἐκ τῶν
ἀνθρώπων τοῖς εὖ περὶ αὐτὴν προσήκειν, περὶ-
τον μὲν ζῆλον, ἀπὸ ζήλου δὲ, φθόνον. ὃ καὶ
πῶδε πῶς πόλιν ἄκυσαν ἐν πολέμῳ τοῖς Ελ-
λησι κατέστησε. Μετὰ δὲ τῷτο γυομνῆς πό-
λεως, σωέβαλον μὲν ἐν Τδυάγρα, ὑπὸ τῆς 10
Βοιωτῶν ἐλευθερίας Λακεδαιμονίοις μαχόμενοι
ἀμφισβητησίμου δὲ τῆς μάχης γυομνῆς, διέ-
κρινε τὸ ὕπερρον ἔργον. οἱ μὲν γὰρ ὄχοντο ἀπύον-
τες, καταλιπόντες Βοιωτὲς οἷς ἐδοήδου. οἱ δ'
ἡμέτεροι τρίτῃ ἡμέρᾳ ἐν Οἰνοφύτοις νικήσαν- 15
τες, οὗτον ἀδίκως φύγοντας δικαίως κατήγα-
γον. οὗτοι δὲ περὶ τοῖς μετὰ τὸν Περσικὸν πό-
λεμον, Ελλησιν ἤδη ὑπὸ τῆς ἐλευθερίας βοη-
δοῦντες πρὸς Ελληνας, ἄνδρες ἀγαθοὶ γενό-
μνοι, καὶ ἐλευθερώσαντες οἷς ἐδοήδου, ἐν 20
τῷδε τῷ μνήματι πμνηθέντες ὑπὸ τῆς πόλεως
περὶ τοῖς ἐτέθησαν. Μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα, πολλοὶ
πολέμους

πολέμῳ γενομένου, καὶ πάντων τῶν Ελλήνων
 ὁππρεατοδυσάντων, καὶ τεμόντων τὴν χώραν,
 καὶ ἀναξίαν χάριν ἐκπινόντων τῇ πόλει, νική-
 σαντες αὐτὲς ναυμαχίᾳ οἱ ἡμέτεροι, καὶ λα-
 5 ρόντες αὐτῶν οὖν ἡγεμόνας Λακεδαιμονίους ἐν
 τῇ σφαγίᾳ, ἔξον αὐτοῖς ἀφφθείραι, ἐφεί-
 σαντο, καὶ ἀπέδωσαν, καὶ εἰρήνῃ ἐποίησαντο.
 ἡγέμευροι πρὸς μὲν τὸ ὁμόφυλον μέχρι νίκης
 δεῖν πολεμεῖν, καὶ μὴ δι' ὀργῇ ἰδίαν πόλεως
 10 τὸ κοινὸν τῶν Ελλήνων διολιεύειν πρὸς ᾧ τὰς
 Βαρβάρους, μέχρι ἀφφθορέας. τέτῃς δὲ ἄξιον
 ἐπαινέσαι τὰς ἀνδρας, οἱ τέτον τὸν πόλεμον πο-
 λεμήσαντες ἐνθαῖδε κείνται, ὅτι ἐπέδειξαν, εἰς
 ἄρα ἡμφισβήτην, ὡς ἐν τῷ πρὸς τὴν πόλιν πολέμῳ
 15 τῷ πρὸς τὰς Βαρβάρους ἄλλοι πινὲς εἶεν ἀμεί-
 νους Ἀθηναίων, ὅτι οὐκ ἀληθῆ ἡμφισβητοῖεν.
 οὗτοι γὰρ ἐνταῦθα ἔδειξαν, σασιασάσης τῆς
 Ελλάδος παριγενόμενοι τῷ πολέμῳ, τὰς πρὸς
 20 ὧν τότε τὰς Βαρβάρους ἐνίκων κοινῇ, τέτῃς νι-
 κῶντες ἰδίᾳ.

Τρίτος ὃ πόλεμος μετὰ ταύτῃ τῷ εἰρήνῃ
 ἀνέλπισός τε καὶ δεινὸς ἐχρύετο· ἐν ᾧ πολλοὶ
 καὶ ἀγαθοὶ τελευτήσαντες, ἐνθαδὲ κείνται· πολ-
 λοι μὲν ἀμφὶ Σικελίαν πλεῖστα τρόπαμα σή-
 σαντες, ὑπὸ τῆς Λεοντίνων ἐλευθερίας, οἷς ἡ
 βοήθῃοντες ἀπὸ τῆς ὀρκῆς ἐπλάσαν εἰς ἐκείνας
 τῆς τόποις· ἀπὸ δὲ μῆκος τῆς πλοῦς εἰς ἀπορίαν
 τῆς πόλεως καταστάσης, καὶ ἡ δυναμὴς αὐ-
 τοῖς ὑπηρετεῖν, τῷ ἀπειπόντες ἐδυσύχνησαν.
 ὧν οἱ ἐχθροὶ καὶ προσπολεμήσαντες πλείω ἔπαυ- 10
 νον ἔχουσι σωφροσύνης καὶ ἀρετῆς, ἢ τῶν ἄλ-
 λων οἱ φίλοι· πολλοὶ δ' ἐν ταῖς ναυμαχίαις
 ταῖς κατὰ Ἑλλάποντον, μᾶ μὲν ἡμέρα πάσας
 τὰς τῶν πολεμίων ἐλόντες ναῦς, πολλὰς δὲ
 καὶ ἄλλας νικήσαντες. ὁ δ' εἶπον δεινὸν καὶ 15
 ἀνέλπιστον τῷ πολέμου γενέσθαι, τόδε λέγω, τὸ
 εἰς τοσούτον φιλονεικίας ἐλθεῖν πρὸς τὴν πό-
 λιν τῆς ἄλλης Ἑλλήνας, ὥστε τολμῆσαι τῷ
 ἐχθρῷ ὁπληρυκδύσασθαι βασιλῆα, ὃν κοινῇ ἐξέ-
 βαλον μετ' ἡμῶν, ἰδίᾳ τῷ πάλιν ἐπάγεσθαι, 20
 Βάρβαρον ἐφ' Ἑλλήνας, καὶ συναθροίσαι ὅππῃ
 τὴν πόλιν πάντας Ἑλληνας τε καὶ Βαρβάρους·

ἔδῃ καὶ ἐκφραγῆς ἐχρῆτο ἢ τῆς πόλεως ῥώμῃ τε
 καὶ δρετῇ. οἰομένων γὰρ ἤδη αὐτῶν καταπολε-
 μεῖσθαι, καὶ ἀπειλημένων ἐν Μιτυλήνῃ
 τῶν νεῶν, βοηθήσαντες ἐξήκοντα ναυσὶν, αὐτοὶ
 5 ἐμβάντες εἰς τὰς ναῦς, καὶ ἄνδρες γενόμενοι
 ὁμολογημένως δρεῖσι, νικήσαντες μὲν τὰς πο-
 λεμίους, λυσάμενοι δὲ τὰς φιλίους, ἀναξίου
 τύχης τυχόντες, ἐκ ἀναιρεθέντες ἐκ τῆς θαλάτ-
 τῃς, κεύνται ἐνθάδε. ὧν χρὴ αἰεὶ μεμνήσθαι τε
 10 καὶ ἐπαινεῖν. τῇ μὲν γὰρ ἐκείνων δρετῇ ἐνική-
 σαμεν ἔμῳ μόνον πλὴν τότε ναυμαχίαν, ἀλλὰ καὶ
 τὸν ἄλλον πόλεμον. δόξαν γὰρ δι' αὐτὰς ἡ πό-
 λις ἔχε, μήποτ' ἂν καταπολεμηθῇναί μιν ὑπὸ
 πάντων ἀνθρώπων. καὶ ἀληθῆ ἔδοξε. τῇ δὲ
 15 ἡμετέρᾳ αὐτῇ ἀγαθοῖα ἐκράτηθημεν, οὐχ
 ὑπὸ τῇ ἄλλων. αἰήητοι γὰρ ἔπ' καὶ νῦν ὑπό-
 γε ἐκείνων ἐσμέν· ἡμεῖς δὲ αὐτοὶ ἡμᾶς αὐτὰς
 καὶ ἐνικήσαμεν καὶ ἠτήθημεν.

Μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα ἡσυχίας γυρομένης, καὶ εἰ-
 20 ρήνης πρὸς ὅδ' ἄλλοις, ὁ οἰκεῖος ἡμῖν πόλε-
 μος ἔτις ἐπολεμήθη, ὥστε εἶπερ εἰμαρμένον εἶναι
 ἀνθρώποις στασιάσαι, μὴ ἂν ἄλλως εὖξασθαι

μηδένα πόλιν ἑαυτοῦ νοσήσαι. ἔκ τε γὰρ τῆ
 Πειραιέως καὶ τῆ Ἀσείας ὡς ἀσμένως ἢ οἰκείως
 ἀλλήλοις συνέμειξαν οἱ πολῖται, καὶ πρ᾽ ἐλ-
 πίδα τοῖς ἄλλοις Ἕλλησι, τόντε παρὸς τὰς ἐν
 Ἐλευσίνι πόλεμον ὡς μετείως ἔθεντο. καὶ
 τούτων ἀπάντων ὁδὸν ἄλλ' αἴτιον, ἢ πρὸ ὄντι
 ξυγγήρεια, φιλίαν βέβαιον καὶ ὁμόφυλον οὐ
 λόγῳ ἀλλ' ἔργῳ πρὸς ἑαυτὴν. Χρὴ δὲ καὶ τῶν ἐν
 τούτῳ πρὸ πολέμῳ τελευτησάντων ὑπ' ἀλλή-
 λων μνείαν ἔχειν, καὶ ἀγαλλιάσθαι αὐτὰς ὡς ¹⁰
 δυναμέσθαι, εὐχαῖς καὶ θυσίαις ἐν τοῖς τοιοῖςδε
 τοῖς κρατέσθαι αὐτῶν εὐχομένους, ἐπειδὴ καὶ ἡμεῖς
 διηλλάγμεθα. ἔτι γὰρ κακία ἀλλήλων ἦσαντο,
 ἐδ' ἔχθρα, ἀλλὰ δυστυχία. μάρτυρες δὲ ἡμεῖς
 αὐτοὶ ἐσμέν τούτων, οἱ ζῶντες. οἱ αὐτοὶ γὰρ ¹⁵
 ὄντες ἐκείνοις γένε', συγγνώμῃ ἀλλήλοις ἔχο-
 μεν ὧν τ' ἐποίησαμεν, ὧν τ' ἐπάθομεν.

Μετὰ δὲ τῷτο παντελὲς εἰρήνης ἡμῖν γενο-
 μένης, ἡσυχίαν ἦγεν ἡ πόλις, τοῖς μὲν Βαρυά-
 ροις συγγινώσκουσα, ὅτι παθόντες ὑπ' αὐτῆς ²⁰
 κακῶς ἰκανῶς, οὐκ ἐνδεῶς ἡμυνόντο. τοῖς δὲ
 Ἕλλησιν ἀγανακτοῦσα, μεμνημένη ὡς εὖ πα-
 θόντες

θύοντες ὑπ' αὐτῆς, οἷαν χάριν ἀπέδωσαν, κοινω-
 σάμενοι τοῖς Βαρυάροις, τὰς τε ναῦς πειλο-
 μένους, αἵ ποτ' ἐκείνης ἔσωσαν, ἢ τείχη χαθε-
 λόντες, ἀντ' ὧν ἡμεῖς τὰ κείνων ἐκωλύσαμεν
 5 πεσεῖν. Διανοσμένη ἡ πόλις μὴ ἂν ἐπὶ ἀμύνην
 μήτε Ἑλλησι πρὸς ἀλλήλων δαλαμένοις, μήτε
 ὑπὸ Βαρυάρων, οὕτω ὤκη. ἡμεῖς οὖν ἐν τῇ
 αὐτῇ ἀφαινοίᾳ ὄντων, ἡγεσάμενοι Λακεδαι-
 μόνιοι τὰς μὲν τῆς ἐλευθερίας ὁπικέρας πεπλω-
 10 κέναι ἡμᾶς, σφέτερον δὲ ἤδη ἔργον εἶναι χαλ-
 δουλοῦσθαι τὰς ἄλλους, ταῦτ' ἐπιδραστήον. καὶ
 μηκύνειν μὲν τί δδ; ἔργον γὰρ πάλαι ὅσδε πολ-
 λῶν ἀνθρώπων γεγονότα λέγοιμ' ἂν τὰ μετὰ
 ταῦτα. αὐτοὶ γὰρ ἴσμεν ὡς ἐκπεπλημένοι ἀφί-
 15 κοντο εἰς χρεῖαν τῆς πόλεως τῶν τε Ἑλλήνων
 οἱ ᾠρεῖται, Ἀργεῖοι, ἢ Βοιωτοί, ἢ Κορίνθιοι·
 καὶ τότε θεότατον πάντων, τὸ ἢ Βασιλέα εἰς
 τῆτο ἀπορίας ἀφικέσθαι, ὥς τε ᾠρεῖσθαι αὐτῶν
 μηδαμόθεν ἄλλοθεν σωτηρίαν χυέσθαι ἀλλ'
 20 ἢ ἐκ ταύτης τῆς πόλεως, ἣν προσθύμως ἀπώλλυ.
 καὶ δὴ καὶ εἴτις βέλοιο τῆς πόλεως χατηρο-
 γῆται δικαίως, τῆτ' ἂν μόνον λέγων ὀρθῶς ἂν
 χατη-

κατηγορεῖ, ὡς αἰεὶ λίαν φιλοκτίρμων ὅτι, καὶ
 τῷ ἥπionος γεραπίας. καὶ δὴ καὶ ἐν τῷ τότε χρόνῳ
 οὐχ οἶατε ἐγένετο κατερεῖσθαι, ὅδ' ἔλαφυ-
 λάξαι ἂν ἐδέδοκτο αὐτῇ, τὸ μηδενὶ δουλομύῳ
 βοηθεῖν τῶν σφᾶς ἀδικησάντων· ἀλλὰ ἐκάμ-
 φθη, καὶ ἐβοήθησε, καὶ τὰς μὲν Ἑλληνας, αὐτὴ
 βοηθήσασα ἀπελύσατο δουλείας, ὥς' ἐλευθε-
 ροὺς εἶναι, μέχρις ὅτι πάλιν αὐτοὶ αὐτὰς κατε-
 δουλώσαντο. Βασιλεὺς δὲ αὕτη μὲν ὅκ' ἐτόλ-
 μιζε βοηθεῖν, αἰχμωμύῳ τὰ τέτοια τάτε¹⁰
 Μαραθῶνι καὶ Σαλαμῖνι καὶ Πλαταιαῖς. φυ-
 γάδας δ' καὶ ἐφελοντὰς ἐάσασα μόνον βοηθεῖν,
 ὁμολογεμύῳ ἔσωσε. τειχισμύῳ δὲ καὶ ναυ-
 πηγισμύῳ, ἐκδεξαμένη τὸν πόλεμον, ἐπειδὴ
 ἠναγκάσθη πολεμεῖν, ὑπὸ Παρίων ἐπολέμει¹⁵
 Λακεδαιμονίοις. φοβηθεὶς δὲ Βασιλεὺς τὴν
 πόλιν, ἐπειδὴ ἔωρε Λακεδαιμονίοις τὰ κατὰ
 θάλατταν πολέμῳ ἀπαγορεύοντας, ἀποσῆναι
 βελόμυρος, ἐξήτε τὰς Ἑλληνας τὰς ἐν τῇ ἡπείρῳ,
 (οὕτως περὶ τὴν Λακεδαιμονίον αὐτὰς ἔξεδδ-²⁰
 σαν) εἰ μέλλοι συμμαχήσειν ἡμῖν τε καὶ τοῖς
 ἄλλοις συμμάχοις, ἡγέμυρος ὅκ' ἐφελήσεν,

ἴν' αὐτὰς πρόσφασις εἴη τῆς ἀποστάσεως. καὶ τῶν
 μὲν ἄλλων συμμαχῶν ἐψεύσθη (ἠθέλησαν γὰρ
 αὐτὰς ἐκδιδόναι, καὶ ξυνέθεντο καὶ ὤμοσαν,
 Κορίνθιοι, καὶ Αργεῖοι, καὶ Βοιωτοὶ, καὶ ἄλλοι
 5 σύμμαχοι, εἰ μέλλοι χεῖματά παρῆξιν, ἐκ-
 δώσειν τὰς ἐν τῇ ἡπείρῳ Ἑλληνας) μόνοι δὲ
 ἡμεῖς οὐκ ἐτολμήσαμεν οὔτε ἐκδοιῶναι, οὔτε
 ὁμῶσαι.

Οὕτω δὴ τι τόγχε τῆς πόλεως γηναῖον καὶ
 10 ἐλδίθερον, βέβαιόν τε καὶ ὑγιές ὅστι, καὶ φύσιν
 μισοβάβαρον, ἀλλὰ τὸ εἰλικρινῶς εἶναι Ἑλληνες
 καὶ ἀμιγεῖς Βαρβάρων. καὶ γὰρ Πέλοπες οὐδὲ
 Κάδμοι, οὐδὲ Αἴγυπιοί τε καὶ Δαναοὶ, οὐδὲ
 ἄλλοι πολλοὶ, φύσιν μὲν βάρβαροι ὄντες, νόμῳ
 15 δὲ Ἑλληνες συνοικῶσιν ἡμῖν, ἀλλ' αὐτοὶ Ἑλ-
 ληνες, καὶ μισοβάβαρον οἰκῶμεν. ὅθεν κατὰ
 τὸ μῦθος ἐντέτηκε τῇ πόλιν τῆς ἀλλοτείας
 φύσεως· ὅμως δ' οὕτω ἐμονώθημεν πάλιν, ἀλλὰ
 τὸ μὴ ἐθέλειν αἰχρὸν καὶ ἀνόσιον ἔργον ἐργά-
 20 σασθαι, Ἑλληνας Βαρβάροις ἐκδόντες. Ἐλθόν-
 τες δὲ εἰς ταῦτα εἰς ὧν καὶ τοιοῦτόν τι κατεπο-
 λεμήθημεν, σὺν Θεῷ ἀμεινον ἢ τότε ἐθέμεθα
 τὸν

τὸν πόλεμον. καὶ γὰρ ναῦς ἢ τείχη ἔχοντες,
καὶ τὰς ἡμετέρας αὐτῶν δ'ποικίας, ἀπὸ ἀλλή-
λων τῷ πολέμου. οὕτως ἀγαπητῶς ἀπὸ ἀλλή-
λων λάθοντο ἢ οἱ πολέμοι. ἀνδρῶν μέντοι ἀγαθῶν
καὶ ἐν τούτῳ τῷ πολέμῳ ἐσεσθήθημεν, τῶν τε ἐν
Κορίνθῳ χερσαίων δυχωρία, ἢ ἐν Λεχαιῶν,
παιδοδοσία. ἀγαθοὶ δὲ ἢ οἱ Βασιλέα ἐλευθε-
ρώσαντες, ἢ ἐκβαλόντες ἐκ τῆς θαλάττης Λα-
κεδαιμονίοις. ὧν ἐγὼ μὲν ὑμᾶς ἀναμνησκῶ,
ὑμᾶς δὲ πρὸς ξυμπαινεῖν τε ἢ κοσμεῖν τοί- 10
στας ἀνδρας.

Καὶ τὰ μὲν δὴ ἔργα ταῦτα τῶν ἀνδρῶν τῶν
ἐνθάδε κειμένων, καὶ τῶν ἄλλων, ὅσοι ὑπὸ
τῆς πόλεως τετελευτήκασι· πολλὰ μὲν τὰ εἰρη-
μῶνα ἢ χαλὰ, πολὺ δ' ἐπὶ πλείῳ ἢ χαλῶ 15
τὰ ὑπολειπόμενα· πολλὰ γὰρ αὖν ἡμέρας ἢ
νύκτες οὐχ ἱκανὰ γέροντο τὰ πάντα μέλ-
λοντι πρᾶναι. τούτων οὖν χρὴ μεμνημένους,
τοῖς τούτων ἐκγόνοις πάντ' ἀνδρα παρὰ κελεύε-
σθαι, ὥσπερ ἐν πολέμῳ, μὴ λείπειν τιτὸν τάξιν 20
τιτὸν τῶν πατρῴων, μηδ' εἰς τὸ πίσω ἀναχωρεῖν,
εἰκόντας χάκῃ. Εἰγὼ μὲν οὖν ἢ αὐτοὶ, ὧ παῖδες
ἀνδρῶν

ἀνδρῶν ἀγαθῶν, νυνὶ τε παρὰ κελεύσομαι, καὶ ἐν
 τῷ λοιπῷ χρόνῳ, ὅπως ἂν τῷ ἐπιγχαίνῳ ὑμῖν,
 καὶ ἀναμνήσω καὶ παρὰ κελεύσομαι παρὰ θυμείας
 εἶναι ὡς δέξοις. ἐν δὲ τῷ παρόντι δίκαιος εἰμὶ
 5 εἰπεῖν ἃ οἱ πατέρες ἡμῖν ἐπέσκηπτον ἀπαγγέ-
 λειν τοῖς λειπομένοις, εἰπὶ πάχοιεν, ἡνίκα κιν-
 δυμῶειν ἔμελλον. φράσω ὃ ὑμῖν ἄτε αὐτῶν
 ἦκιστα ἐκείων, καὶ οἷα νῦν ἡδέως ἂν εἴποιεν ὑμῖν,
 λαβόντες δυνάμιν· τεκμαίρομαι ἐξ ὧν τότε
 10 ἔλεγον. Ἀλλὰ νομίζειν χρὴ αὐτῶν ἀκρίβειαν ἐκεί-
 νων ἢ ἂν ἀπαγγέλλω. ἔλεγον δὲ τὰδε,

Ω παῖδες, ὅτι μὲν ἔσε πατέρων ἀγαθῶν,
 αὐτὸ μινύει τὸ νυνὶ παρόν· ἡμῖν δὲ ὄξον ζῆν
 μὴ χαλῶς, χαλῶς αἰεθέμεθα μάλλον τελου-
 15 τᾶν, πρὶν ἡμᾶς τε καὶ τὰς ἐπειτα εἰς ὀνείδη
 χαλᾶσθαι, καὶ πρὶν τὰς ἡμετέρων πατέρων καὶ
 πᾶν τὸ πρὸθεν γένος αἰχμῶν· ἡγέμενοι τῷ
 τὰς αὐτῶν αἰχμῶντι ἀβίωτον εἶναι, καὶ τῷ τοῖστω
 ἔτε πῶς ἀνθρώπων ἔτε Θεῶν φίλον εἶναι, ἔτ'
 20 ὅτι γῆς, ἔθ' ὑπὸ γῆς, τελουτήσονται. Χρὴ ἔν,
 μεμνημένους τῶν ἡμετέρων λόγων, εἰάν τι καὶ
 ἄλλο ἀσκήτε, ἀσκέειν μετ' ἀρετῆς· εἰδότες ὅτι

τέτε λειπόμνημα πάντα καὶ κτήματα ἢ ἑπι-
 ποδύματα, αἰχρὰ καὶ χακρά. οὔτε γὰρ πλε-
 ος χάλλος φέρει τῷ κεκτημένῳ, μετ' ἀνδρ-
 ορίας (ἄλλω γὰρ ὁ τοῖστος πλεονὲς ἢ ἔχ' ἐαυ-
 τῷ). οὔτε σώματος χάλλος καὶ ἰσχύς δειλῷ ἢ
 χακῷ ξυνοικοῦντα, πρέποντα φαίνεται, ἀλλ'
 ἀπρεπῆ· καὶ ἑπιφθονέστερον ποιεῖ τὸν ἔχοντα,
 καὶ ἐκφαίνει πλεὺς δειλίαν· πᾶσά τε ἑπιστήμη
 χειρομνή δικαιοσύνης ἢ τῆς ἄλλης ἀρετῆς,
 πρῶτον γὰρ, ἢ σοφία φαίνεται. Ὡς ἔνεκα καὶ ¹⁰
 περὶ τὸν καὶ ὕστατον ἢ ἀσπαιντὸς πᾶσαν πάν-
 τως περὶ θυμίαν πειρατὰς ἔχειν, ὅπως μάλιστα
 μὲν ὑπερβαλεῖται καὶ ἡμᾶς καὶ τὰς πρὸς αὐτὸν
 εὐκλεία· εἰ δὲ μὴ, ἴσεται ὡς ἡμῖν, ἂν μὲν νικῶ-
 μεν ὑμᾶς ἀρετῇ, ἢ νίκη αἰχμάλω φέρει, ἢ δὲ ¹⁵
 ἡττα, εἰ ἡττώμεθα, εὐδαιμονίαν. μάλιστα δ'
 ἂν νικῶμεθα, ἢ ὑμεῖς νικῶντες, εἰ πρὸς ἀσκη-
 σαιατε τῇ τῶν περὶ γόνων δόξῃ μὴ καταχρησά-
 μνοι, μηδ' ἀναλώσαντες αὐτῷ· γνόντες ὅτι
 ἀνδρὶ οἰομένῳ πῶς εἶναι, ὅτι ἔστιν αἰσχρὸν ἢ παρέ- ²⁰
 χεῖν ἑαυτὸν τιμώμενον μὴ δι' ἑαυτὸν, ἀλλὰ
 διὰ δόξαν περὶ γόνων. εἶναι μὲν γὰρ τιμὰς
 γονέων

γυνέων ἐκγόνοις, χαλὰς θησαυροὺς ἢ μεγαλο-
 πρεπῆς· χρῆσθαι δὲ καὶ χρημάτων καὶ πηλὴ
 θησαυρῶ, καὶ μὴ τοῖς ἐκγόνοις πρᾶδιδόναι,
 αἰχρὸν καὶ ἀνδρῶν, ἀπορία ἰδίων αὐτῶ κτη-
 5 μάτων τε καὶ εὐδοξίων. καὶ εἰ μὲν ταῦτα
 ὀπιτηδύσητε, φίλοι πρὸ φίλοις ἡμῶς ἀφί-
 ξεσθε, ὅταν δὴ ὑμῶς ἡ παροσκήκασα μοῖρα κο-
 μίσῃ· ἀμελήσαντας δὲ ὑμῶς καὶ χακισθέντας
 οὐδείς εὐμενῶς ὑποδέξεται. τοῖς μὲν οὖν πασι
 10 ταῦτ' εἰρήσθω.

Πατέρας δὲ ἡμῶν, οἷς εἰσι, καὶ μητέρας εἰ
 χρὴ πρᾶμυνθεῖσθαι, ὥς χρὴ ῥᾶστα φέρειν τιμὴν
 συμφορᾶν, εἰ μὴ ἄρα ξυμβῇ γνέσθαι, καὶ μὴ
 ξυνοδύρεσθαι· (ὃ γὰρ τῷ λυπήσοντος παροδεή-
 15 σονται· ἱκανὴ γὰρ ἔσται καὶ ἡ γενομένη τύχη
 τῷ πορίζεσθαι) ἀλλ' ἰωμενέας ἢ παρὰ τὸν νόμον,
 ἀναμνησκειν αὐτὰς ὅτι ὧν εὐχονται, τὰ μέ-
 γιστα αὐτοῖς οἱ Θεοὶ ἐπήκοοι γέγονασιν. ὃ γὰρ
 ἀθανάτους σφίσι πᾶσιν εὐχοντο γενέσθαι, ἀλλ'
 20 ἀγαθὸς ἢ εὐκλεεῖς· ὧν ἔτυχον, μεγίστων ἀγα-
 θῶν ὄντων. πάντα δὲ ὃ ῥᾶδιον θνητῶ ἀνδρὶ
 κτ' νομῶ ἐν τῷ ἑαυτοῦ βίῳ ἐκβαίνειν. καὶ φέ-

ροιτες μὲ ἀνδρείως τὰς συμφορὰς, δόξασι τὰ ἐν π
 ἀνδρείων παίδων πατέρες εἶναι, ἢ αὐτοὶ τοιοῦτοι
 ὑποείκοντες δὲ, ὑποψίαν παρέξουσιν ἢ μὴ ἡμέ-
 τερι εἶναι, ἢ ἡμῶν τὴν ἐπαινῶντας καταψύ-
 δεσθαι. καὶ ὅτι οὐδέτερά τέτων· ἀλλ' ἐκείνους
 μάλιστα πάντων ἡμῶν ἐπαινέτας εἶναι, ἔργω
 πρέχοντας αὐτὰς φαινομένοις τὰ ὄντι πατέρας
 ὄντας ἀνδρας ἀνδρῶν. πάλαι γὰρ δὴ τὸ ΜΗ-
 ΔΕΝ ΑΓΑΝ λεγόμενον, καλῶς δοκῶ λέγεσθαι.
 τὰ γὰρ ὄντι εὖ λέγεται. ὅτῳ γὰρ ἀνδρὶ εἰς ἑαυτὸν ¹⁰
 ἀνήρηται πάντα τὰ πρὸς εὐδαιμονίαν φέροντα,
 ἢ ἐγγὺς τούτου, καὶ μὴ ἐν ἄλλοις ἀνθρώποις
 αἰωρεῖται, ὅς ᾧ ἢ εὖ ἢ κακῶς περὶ αὐτῶν
 πλυνᾶσθαι ἠνάγκαται, καὶ τὰ ἐκείνους τούτῳ
 ἄριστα προσκύβασαι ζῆν. οὗτός ἐστιν ὁ σώφρων, ¹⁵
 καὶ οὗτος ὁ ἀνδρεῖος καὶ φρόνιμος· οὗτος,
 γιγνομένων χρημάτων καὶ παίδων, καὶ ἀφ-
 θειρομένων, μάλιστα πείσεται τῇ προίμῃ·
 οὔτε γὰρ χαίρων οὔτε λυπόμενος ἄλλαν φανή-
 σεται, ἀλλὰ τὸ αὐτὰ πεποιθέναι. τοιούτους δὲ ²⁰
 ἡμεῖς γε αἰξιοῦμεν καὶ οὐδὲν ἡμετέρους εἶναι, καὶ
 βεβλόμεθα, ἢ φαμέν· καὶ ἡμᾶς αὐτὰς νῦν
 πρέ-

πρέχουμεν τοῖσδε, οὐκ ἀγανακτέντας, οὐδὲ
 φοβούμενους ἀγαν, εἰ δὲ τελευτᾷν ἐν τῷ πρῶντι.
 Δεόμεθα δὴ καὶ πατέρων καὶ μητέρων, τῇ αὐτῇ
 ζωῇ ἀφαινοῖα χρωμένοις τὸν ὀπίλοιπον βίον
 5 ἀγάγειν, καὶ εἰδέναι ὅτι ἔθνηντες οὐδὲ ὀλο-
 φυρέμενοι ἡμᾶς, ἡμῖν μάλιστα χειριῶται·
 ἀλλ' εἴ τις ὅστις τοῖς τελευτηκόσιν αἰσθησις τῶν
 ζώντων, ἔτις ἀχάριστοι εἶεν ἂν μάλιστα, ἐαυ-
 τὰς τε κακοῦντες, καὶ βαρέως φέροντες τὰς
 10 συμφορὰς. κέφως δὲ καὶ μετεῖως, μάλισ'
 ἂν χαρίζοντο. τὰ μὲν γὰρ ἡμέτερα τελευ-
 τῶ ἤδη ἔξῃ, ἥπερ χαλλίστη γίνεται ἀνθρώποις.
 ὥστε πρὶν αὐτὰ μᾶλλον κοσμεῖν ἢ θρηνεῖν·
 γυναικῶν δὲ τῶν ἡμετέρων καὶ παίδων ὀπι-
 15 μελέμβριοι, καὶ τρέφοντες, καὶ ἐνταῦθα τὸν νοῦν
 τρέποντες, τῆς τε τύχης μάλισ' ἂν εἶεν ἐν λή-
 θῃ, καὶ ζῶεν κάλλιον καὶ ὀρθότερον, καὶ ἡμῖν
 περσοφιλέστερον.

Ταῦτα δὴ ἱκανὰ τοῖς ἡμετέροις πρὸ ἡμῶν
 20 ἀγγέλλειν. τῇ δὲ πόλει παρὰκελευοίμεθ' ἂν
 ὅπως ἡμῖν καὶ πατέρων καὶ υἱῶν ὀπιμελήσονται,
 οὗ μὲν παιδεύοντες κοσμίως, οὗ δὲ γηρο-

τροφοιῦντες αἰζίως· νυνὶ δὲ ἴσμεν ὅτι καὶ ἐὰν
μὴ ἡμεῖς παρὰ κελευόμεθα, ἰκθύνως ἐπιμε-
λήσεται.

Ταῦτα οὖν, ὦ παῖδες καὶ γονεῖς τῶν τελευ-
τησάντων, ἐκείνοί τε ἐπέσκηπτον ἡμῖν ἀπαγ-
γέλλειν, καὶ ἐγὼ ὡς δυνάμει παρὰ θυμότητα
ἀπαγγέλλω· καὶ αὐτὸς δέομαι ὑπὲρ ἐκείνων,
τῶν μὲν, μμείδω· οὐδὲ αὐτῶν· τῶν δὲ, θαρρύνω
ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν· ὡς ἡμῶν καὶ ἰδία καὶ δημοσία
προετρεφουσάντων ὑμᾶς καὶ ἐπιμελησομένων,¹⁰
ὅπως ἂν ἕκαστος ἕκαστῳ ἐντυγχάνῃ ὁπωπιῶν τῶν
ἐκείνων. Τῆς δὲ πόλεως ἴσέπας καὶ αὐτοὶ πλὴν
ἐπιμέλειαν, ὅτι νόμοις θεμελίη παρὰ οὐδὲ τῶν
ἐν τῷ πολέμῳ τελευτησάντων παῖδας τε καὶ
γυνήτορας, ἐπιμελεῖται· καὶ ἀναφαιρόντως τῶν¹⁵
ἄλλων πολιτῶν προστέτακται φυλάττειν δαρχίαν
ἥπερ μεγίστη ὅσιν, ὅπως ἂν οἱ τέτων μὴ ἀδικούν-
ται πατέρες τε καὶ μητέρες. τὰς δὲ παῖδας συνεκ-
τρέφει αὐτῇ, παρὰ θυμουμένη ὁπμάλις· ἀδη-
λον αὐτοῖς πλὴν ὁρφωρίαν γυμνάσαι. ἐν πατρὸς²⁰
γῆματι κατὰ σῶσα αὐτοῖς αὐτῇ, ἐπὶ τε ποιῶν
οὔσι, καὶ ἐπειδὴν εἰς ἀνδρὸς τέλος ἴωσιν, ἀπο-
πέμπει

πέμπει ἔτι τὰ σφέτερόν αὐτῶν, πανοπλία κοσμή-
 σαι· ἐνδεικνυμένη καὶ ἀναμνησκούσα τὰ
 τῆ πατρὸς ἐπιτηδεύματα, ὄργανα τῆς πατρώας
 δόξης διδοῦσα· καὶ ἅμα οἰωνοῦ χάριν ἄρχε-
 5 σθαι ἵεναι ἔτι πλὴν πατρώαν ἐσίαν, δέξοντα
 μετ' ἰχύος ὅπλοις κεκοσμημένον. αὐτὰς ὃ τὰς
 τελευτήσαντας τιμῶσα ὁδῶν ποτε ἐκλείπει καὶ
 ἔχασον ἐνιαυτὸν, αὐτὴ τὰ νομιζόμενα ποιεῖσα
 κοινῇ πᾶσιν, ἅπερ ἴδια ἐκάσῳ ἴδια γίνεται.
 10 πρὸς ὃ τέτοις ἀγῶνας γυμνικὰς καὶ ἵππικὰς
 πηδεῖσα, καὶ μουσικῆς πάσης, καὶ ἀτεχνῶς τῶν μὲν
 τελευτησάντων, ἐν κληρονόμου καὶ υἱοῦ μοίρα
 κατεστηκῶσα, τῶν ὃ υἱῶν, ἐν πατρὸς. γονέων ὃ καὶ
 τῶν τοιούτων, ἐν ἐπιτρόπῃ πᾶσαν πάντων πρὸς
 15 πάντα χρόνον ἐπιμέλειαν ποιουμένη. ὣν χρὴ
 ἐνδυμενέας, σεβότερον φέρειν πλὴν ξυμφο-
 ράν. τοῖς γὰρ τελευτήσασιν καὶ τοῖς ζῶσιν οὕτως
 ἂν σεβοφιλέστατοι εἴητε, καὶ ῥᾶστοι θεραπεύειν
 τε καὶ θεραπεύεσθαι. νῦν δὲ ἤδη ὑμεῖς τε καὶ ἄλ-
 20 λοι πάντες, κοινῇ καὶ τὸν νόμον τὰς τελευτη-
 κότας ἀπολοφραμίνοι, ἅπτε.

ΣΩ. Οὗτός σοι ὁ λόγος, ὦ Μενέξενε, Ασπασίας τῆς Μιλησίας ὅσι. ΜΕ. Νὴ Δία, ὦ Σώκρατες, μακαρίαν γε λέγεις τιτὸ Ασπασίαν, εἰ γυνὴ οὔσα τοιόδε λόγους οἷα τ' ὅσι συνεπνεύει. ΣΩ. Ἀλλ' εἰ μὴ πιστεύεις, ἀκολούθη μετ' ἐμοῦ, καὶ ἀκούσῃ αὐτῆς λεγούσης. ΜΕ. Πολύλακίς, ὦ Σώκρατες, ἐγὼ ἐντετύχηκα Ασπασία, καὶ οἶδα οἷα ὅσι. ΣΩ. Τί οὖν; οὐκ ἄγασαι αὐτὴν, καὶ νῦν χάριν ἔχεις τῷ λόγῳ αὐτῇ; ΜΕ. Καὶ πολλὴν γε, ὦ Σώκρατες, ἐγὼ χάριν ἔχω τέττε τῷ λόγῳ ἐκείνῃ, ἢ ἐκείνῳ ὅστις σοι ὁ εἰπὼν ὅσιν αὐτόν· καὶ πρὸς γε ἄλλων πολλῶν¹⁰ χάριν ἔχω τῷ εἰπόντι. ΣΩ. Εὖ ἂν ἔχοι. ἀλλ' ὅπως μου μὴ χατερῆς, ἵνα καὶ αὐθίς σοι πολλὰς καὶ καλὰς λόγους παρ' αὐτῆς πολιτικὰς ἀπαγγέλλω. ΜΕ. Θάρρῃ, ὅς κατεργά μόνον ἀπάγγελε. ΣΩ. Ἀλλὰ τῷτ' ἔσται.

Λ Τ Σ Ι Ο Τ

Ε Π Ι Τ Α Φ Ι Ο Σ

Τ Ο Ι Σ

Κ Ο Ρ Ι Ν Θ Ι Ω Ν Β Ο Η Θ Ο Ι Σ .

ΕΙ μὲν ἡγάμην οἷόν τε εἶναι, ὦ παρόντες,
 ἔπι τῷδε τῷ τάφῳ, λόγῳ δηλώσαι τιλὸ
 τῶν ἐνθάδε κειμένων ἀνδρῶν ἀρετὴν, ἐμεμ-
 ψάμην ἂν τοῖς ἐπαγγέλασιν ἐπ' αὐτοῖς ὅτι
 ὀλίγων ἡμερῶν λέγειν· ἐπειδὴ δὲ τοῖς πᾶσιν
 ἀνθρώποις ὁ πᾶς χρόνος οὐχ ἱκανὸς λόγον ἶσον
 κατασκευάσαι τοῖς τέττων ἔργοις, ἀλλὰ τὸ τοῦ
 ἡ πόλις μοι δοκῇ, κατανοομένη τῶν ἐνθάδε λε-
 γόντων, ὅτι ὀλίγου τιλὸ πρόσταξιν ποιῆσαι, ἡγα-
 μὴν οὕτως ἂν μάλιστα συγνώμης αὐτὰς πρὸς
 10 τῶν ἀκασάντων τυγχάνειν. ὅμως δὲ ὁ μὲν λό-
 γος μοι παρὶ τέττων, ὁ δ' ἀγὼν ἔτι παρὸς τὰ τέ-
 των ἔργα, ἀλλὰ παρὸς τὰς πρότερον ἐπ' αὐτοῖς

G

είρη-

εἰρηκότας. ποσαύτῳ γὰρ ἀφθονίαν πῦρεσσι δά-
σει ἢ τέτων δρετὴ καὶ τοῖς ποιεῖν δυναμύοις
ἢ τοῖς εἰπεῖν βεληθεῖσιν, ὥσε καλὰ μὲν πολλὰ
τοῖς πορτέροις ποεῖ αὐτῶν εἰρηδοται, πολλὰ δὲ
καὶ ἐκείνοις ποδαλελείφθαι· ἱκανὰ δὲ ἢ τοῖς
ἐπιγυνομύοις ἐξεῖναι εἰπεῖν. οὔτε γὰρ γῆς
ἀπειροὶ οὔτε θαλάττης οὐδεμᾶς, πανταχοῦ ὅ
ἢ ποδα πᾶσιν ἀνθρώποις, οἱ τὰ αὐτῶν πενθε-
τες κακαί, τὰς τέτων δρετὰς ὑμνεῖσι.

Πρῶτον μὲν ἔν τεσ παλαιῖς κινδυῖς τῶν ¹⁰
προγόνων διειμι, μνήμην πρὸς τῆς φήμης λαβών.
ἀξιον γὰρ πᾶσιν ἀνθρώποις καὶ ἐκείνων μέμνησθαι,
ὑμνοῦντας μὲν ἐν ταῖς ᾠδαῖς, λέγοντας δ' ἐν
ταῖς τῶν ἀγαθῶν μνήμας, τιμῶντας δ' ἐν τοῖς
καρτοῖς τοῖς τοῖς τοῖς, παιδδύοντας δ' ἐν τοῖς ¹⁵
τεθνεώτων ἔργοις τεσ ζῶντας. Αμαζόνες μὲν
γὰρ, Αρεος μὲν τοπαλαιὸν ἦσαν θυγατέρες,
οἰκῆσαι δὲ ποδα τὸν Θερμώδοντα ποταμὸν, μόναι
ὅ ὥπλισμέναι σιδήρω τῶν ποεῖ αὐτὰς, πορδοται
ὅ τῶν πάντων ἐφ' ἵπωας ἀναβάσαι, οἷς ἀνελ- ²⁰
πίσως, δι' ἀπειρίαν τῶν ἐνδυπίων, ἤρωον μὲν
οὐδὲ φύγοντας, ἀπέλειπον δὲ οὐδὲ διώκοντας·
ἐνομί-

ἐνομίζοντο δὲ ἀφ' οὗ τὴν εὐψυχίαν μᾶλλον ἄν-
 δρες, ἢ ἀφ' οὗ τὴν φύσιν γυναικες. πλέον γὰρ
 ἐδόκει τῶν ἀνδρῶν ταῖς ψυχαῖς ἀφ' ἑαυτῶν φέρειν,
 ἢ ταῖς ἰδέαις ἐλλείπειν. ἀρχομένη δὲ πολλῶν
 5 ἐθνῶν, καὶ ἔργῳ μὲν τὰς περὶ αὐτὰς καταδε-
 δεικνυμένη, λόγῳ δὲ περὶ τῆςδε τῆς χώρας
 ἀκούουσα κλέος μέγα, πολλῆς δόξης καὶ με-
 γάλῃς ἐλπίδος χάριν παρὰ λαβοῦσα τὰ μαχι-
 μώτατα τῶν ἐθνῶν, ἐστράτευσαν ὑπὲρ τήνδε τὴν
 10 πόλιν. τυχεύουσι δ' ἀγαθῶν ἀνδρῶν, ὁμοίως ἐκ-
 τήσαντο ταῖς ψυχαῖς τῇ φύσει, καὶ ἐνδοτίαν τὴν
 δόξαν τῆς περὶ τῆς λαβοῦσα, μᾶλλον ἐκ τῶν
 κινδυνῶν ἢ ἐκ τῶν σωμάτων ἐδόξαν εἶναι γυ-
 ναῖκες· μόναίς δ' αὐταῖς ἐκ ὁρῶντο ἐκ τῶν
 15 ἡμερησίων μαθήσασιν περὶ τῶν λοιπῶν ἀμει-
 νον βουλεύσασθαι, ὅσῳ οἴκαδε ἀπελθέσασιν
 ἀπαγγεῖλαι τὴν τε σφετέρην αὐτῶν δυσυχίαν
 καὶ τὴν τῶν ἡμετέρων προσόνων ἄρετίν. αὐτὰς
 γὰρ ἀποθανέσθαι, καὶ δοῦσα δίκην τῆς ἀνοίας,
 20 τῆςδε μὲν τῆς πόλεως, ἀφ' οὗ τὴν ἄρετίν, ἀθά-
 νατον μνήμῃ ἐποίησαντο, τὴν δὲ ἑαυτῶν πα-
 τρίδα, ἀφ' οὗ τὴν ἐνθάδε συμφορὰν, ἀνώνυμον

χατέστησαν. ἐκείναι μὲν οὖν τῆς ἀλλοτείας
ἀδίκως ὀπθυμύσασαι, τὴν αὐτῇ δικάως
ἀπώλεσαν.

Ἀδρείου δὲ καὶ Πολυμείκης ὅπῃ Θήβας
στρατοδυσάντων, καὶ ἠπληθέντων μάχῃ, ἐκ ἐών-
των τῶν Καδμείων θάπην τὰς νεκρὰς, Ἀθη-
ναῖοι ἠγροάμενοι ἐκείνης μὲν, εἴπῃ ἠδίκην, ἀπο-
θνήσκοντας δίκην ἔχειν τὴν μεγίστην, τὰς δὲ
χάτω τὰ αὐτῇ ἐκομίζεσθαι, ἱερῶν δὲ μαι-
νομένων τὰς ἄνω Θεὰς ἀσεβείας, τὸ μὲν πρῶ-
τον πέμψουτες κήρυκας, ἐδέοντο αὐτῶν δῆνα
τῶν νεκρῶν ἀναίρεσιν· νομίζοντες ἀνδρῶν μὲν
ἀγαθῶν εἶναι ζῶντας τὰς ἐχθροὺς πιωρήσα-
σθαι, ἀπισκόντων δὲ σφίσι αὐτοῖς, ἐν τοῖς τῶν
τεθνεώτων σώμασι τὴν εὐψυχίαν ἐπιδείκνυσθαι.
ἐδυνάμενοι δὲ τῶν τυχῆν, ἐστράδυσαν ἐπ'
αὐτὰς, ὁδὲ μᾶς ἀφ' ὁδοῦ πρὸς τὴν πρὸς
Καδμείους ὑπαρχούσης, ὁδὲ τοῖς ζῶσιν Ἀρ-
γείων χειζόμενοι, ἀλλὰ τὰς τεθνεώτας ἐν τῇ
πολέμῳ ἀξιοῦντες τῶν νομιζομένων τυγχάνειν,
πρὸς τὰς ἐτέρους ὑπὲρ ἀμφοτέρων ἐκινδύ-
νυσαν. ὑπὲρ μὲν τῶν, ἵνα μηκέτι εἰς τὰς τεθ-
νεώτας

νεώτας ἔξαμαρτάνοντες, πλείω παρὰ τὰς θεὰς
 ἔξυβρίσωσιν· ὑπὸ δὲ τῶν ἐτέρων, ἵνα μὴ πρό-
 τερον εἰς τὴν αὐτῶν ἀπέλθωσι, πατεῖς τιμῆς
 ἀτυχίσαντες, καὶ Ἑλληνικοῦ νόμου σεσηθέντες,
 5 καὶ κοινῆς ἐλπίδος ἡμαρτηκότες. ταῦτα ἀθανά-
 τες, καὶ τὰς ἐπὶ τῷ πολέμῳ τύχας, κοινὰς
 ἀπάντων ἀνθρώπων νομίζοντες, πολλοὺς μὲν
 πολεμίους κτώμενοι, τὸ δὲ δίκαιον ἔχοντες σύμ-
 μαχον, ἐνίκων μαχόμενοι. καὶ οὐχ ὑπὸ τῆς
 10 τύχης ἐπαρθεῖντες, μείζονος παρὰ Καδμείων
 τιμωρίας ἐπεθύμησαν, ἀλλ' ἐκείνοις μὲν ἀντὶ
 τῆς ἀσεβείας τὴν ἑαυτῶν ἀρετὴν ἐπεδείξοντο,
 αὐτοὶ δὲ λαβόντες τὰ ἄθλα ὧν περ ἔνεκα ἀφί-
 κοντο, τὰς Ἀργείων νεκρὰς ἔθαψαν ἐν τῇ αὐ-
 15 τῶν Εὐρυσίῳ. παρὰ μὲν οὖν τὰς ἀποθανόντας
 τῶν ἐπὶ τῇ Θήβῃ τοῖσι γεγονόσιν.

Ἰστέρω δὲ χρόνῳ, ἐπειδὴ Ἡρακλῆς μὲν ἔξ
 ἀνθρώπων ἠφθούσθη, οἱ δὲ παῖδες αὐτοῦ ἐφούγον
 μὲν Εὐρυθέα, ἔξηλαύνοντο δὲ ὑπὸ πάντων τῶν
 20 Ἑλλήνων, αἰχνομυθῶν μὲν τοῖς ἔργοις, φοβου-
 μυθῶν δὲ τὴν Εὐρυθέως δύναμιν, ἀφικόμενοι
 εἰς τήνδε τὴν πόλιν, ἰκέσθαι ὅππῃ τὸν βωμὸν
 ἔκα-

ἐκαθέζοντο· Ἰξαιτεμῖνου ᾧ αὐτὸς Εὐρυθέως,
 Ἀθηναῖοι ὅκ' ἠθέλησαν ἐκδοῦναι, ἀλλὰ τὴν
 Ηρακλέους ἀρετὴν μᾶλλον ᾔδαντο, ἢ τὸν κίν-
 δυνον τὸν ἑαυτῷ ἐφοβοῦντο. καὶ ἠξίου ὑπὲρ
 τῶν ἀδενεσέρων μὲν τῆς δικαίας ἀγμάχεσθαι,
 μᾶλλον, ἢ τοῖς δυναμῖσι χαρίζεσθαι τὰς
 ὑπὸ ἐκείνων ἀδικημῖνοις ἐκδοῦναι. ὅππρ-
 τούσδε δ' Εὐρυθέως μὲν τῶν ἐν ἐκείνῳ
 πρὶν χρόνῳ Πελοπόννησον ἔχόντων, ὅκ' ἐγγὺς τῶν
 δεινῶν γινόμενοι μετέγνωσαν, ἀλλὰ τὴν αὐτὴν ¹⁰
 εἶχον γνώμην ἥνπερ πρότερον· ἀγαθὸν μὲν
 ὅδ' ἐν ἰδίᾳ ὑπὸ τῆς πατρὸς αὐτῶν πεπονθότες,
 ἐκείνοις τ' ὅκ' εἰδότες ὁποῖοί τινες ἄνδρες ἔσυν-
 ται γινόμενοι· δίκαιον δὲ νομίζοντες εἶναι, οὐ
 πρότερος ἔχθρας ὑπαρχούσης πρὸς Εὐρυθέα, ¹⁵
 ὅδ' ἐκέρδις προκειμένου, πλεὺς δόξης ἀγα-
 θῆς, ὅσον κίνδυνον ὑπὸ αὐτῷ ἤρατο· τὰς
 μὲν ἀδικημῖνοις ἐλεῖντες, τὰς δ' ὑβρίζοντας
 μισεῖντες· καὶ τὰς μὲν κωλύειν ἐπιχειροῦντες,
 τοῖς δ' ὀπκιεῖν ἀξιοῦντες. ἡγεμῖνοι ἐλευθε- ²⁰
 ρίας μὲν σημείον εἶναι, μηδὲν ποιεῖν ἄκοντας·
 δικαιοσύνης δὲ, τοῖς ἀδικημένοις βοηθεῖν. εὐ-
 ψυχίας

ψυχίας δ', ὑπὲρ τέτων ἀμφοτέρων, εἰ δέοι,
 μαχομένοισι ληποθήσκειν. Τούτῳ δ' ἐφρόνου
 ἀμφοτέροισι, ὥσθ' οἱ μὲν μετ' Εὐρυθέως οὐδὲν
 πρὶ ἐκόντων ἐζήτου εὐρίσκεσθαι, Ἀθηναῖοι δὲ
 5 οὐκ ἠξίου Εὐρυθέα αὐτὸν ἱκετεύοντα τῆς ἰκέ-
 τας αὐτῶν ὀξελεῖν. παρταξάμενοι δ' ἰδίᾳ
 δυνάμει τὴν ἐξ ἀπάσης Πελοποννήσου στρατὸν
 ἐλθούσαν ἐνίκων μαχόμενοι· καὶ τῶν παίδων
 τὰ μὲν σώματα εἰς ἄδειαν κατέστησαν, ἀπαλ-
 10 λάξοντες δὲ τῶν δέοις καὶ τὰς ψυχὰς ἠλθού-
 ρωσαν, ἀλλὰ τὴν τῶν πατρὸς λρετὴν, ἐκείνοις
 δὲ τοῖς αὐτῶν κινδύοις ἐσεφάνωσαν. Τούτῳ
 δὲ εὐτυχέσθαι παῖδες ὅντες ἐχρύντο τῶν πατρὸς·
 ὁ μὲν γὰρ, καίπερ ὢν ἀγαθῶν πολλῶν αἵπιος
 15 ἀπασιν ἀνθρώποις, ὁπίπον καὶ φιλόνεικον καὶ
 φιλότιμον αὐτῷ κατέστησας τὸν βίον, οὗ μὲν
 ἄλλας ἀδικουῦτας ἐκόλασεν, Εὐρυθέα δὲ καὶ
 ἐχθρὸν ὄντα, καὶ εἰς αὐτὸν ἐξαμαρτάνοντα, ἐχ-
 οῖός τε ἦν τιμωρήσασθαι· οἱ δὲ παῖδες αὐτῷ ἀλλὰ
 20 τῇδε τὴν πόλιν τῇ αὐτῇ εἶδον ἡμέρα τὴν δ'
 ἑαυτῶν σωτηρίαν, καὶ τὴν τῶν ἐχθρῶν τιμω-
 ρίαν.

Πολλά

Πολλὰ μὲν οὖν ὑπῆρχε τοῖς ἡμετέροις
 πρεσβύτοις μᾶλλον γνώμη χρωμύοις παρὰ τῷ δι-
 καίᾳ ἀφαιμάχεσθαι. ἢ τε γὰρ ἀρχὴ τῷ βίου
 δικαία. ὃ γὰρ, ὥσπερ οἱ πολλοὶ, παντὶ χρόνῳ
 στυγεργμοῖ, καὶ ἑτέροις ἐκβαλόντες, πλεὶς
 ἀλλοτεῖαν ὤκησαν, ἀλλ' αὐτόχθονες ὄντες,
 πλεὶς αὐτῷ ἐκέκνητο μητέρα καὶ πατέρα.
 πρεσβῆτες δὲ καὶ μόνοι ἐν ἐκένῳ τῷ χρόνῳ ἐκ-
 βαλόντες τὰς παρὰ σφίσιν αὐτοῖς διωασείας,
 δημοκρατίαν κατεστήσαντο. ἡγεμόνοι πλεὶς πάν- ¹⁰
 των ἐλευθερίαν, ὁμόνοιαν εἶναι μεγίστην κοι-
 νὰς δ' ἀλλήλοις τὰς ἐκ τῶν καρδιῶν ἐλπίδας
 ποιήσαντες, ἐλευθερίαις ταῖς ψυχαῖς ἐπολι-
 τείοντο· νόμῳ τὰς ἀγαθὰς πρῶντες καὶ τὰς
 κακὰς κολάζοντες· ἡγεσάμενοι θηρίων μὲν ἔρ- ¹⁵
 γον εἶναι, ὑπὸ ἀλλήλων βία κρατεῖσθαι, ἀν-
 θρώποις δὲ προσήκειν, νόμῳ μὲν ὁρίσασθαι τὸ δι-
 καιον, λόγῳ δὲ πείσασθαι· ἔργῳ δὲ τέτοις ὑπηρε-
 τεῖν, ὑπὸ νόμου μὲν βασιλευσμενοῖς, ὑπὸ λόγου
 δὲ διδασκευμενοῖς. καὶ γάρτοι καὶ φύντες κα- ²⁰
 λῶς, καὶ γνόντες ὅμοια, πολλὰ μὲν καλὰ καὶ
 θαυμαστὰ οἱ πρεσβῆτες τῶν ἐνθάδε κειμένων
 εἰργά-

εἰργάσαντο, αἰέμνηστα δὲ καὶ μεγάλα καὶ παν-
 ταχοῦ οἱ ὅς ἐκείνων γεγυότες τρόπαια λαβέ-
 τιν αὐτῶν λῆρετιν κατέλιπον. μόνοι γὰρ ὑπὲρ
 ἀπάσης τῆς Ελλάδος πρὸς πολλὰς μυριάδας
 5 τῶν Βαρβαρῶν δις ἐκινδυνύουσιν. ὁ γὰρ τῆς
 Ἀσίας βασιλεὺς, ἐκ ἀγαπῶν τοῖς ὑπάρχουσιν
 ἀγαθοῖς, ἀλλ' ἐλπίζων καὶ τινὲς Εὐρώπῃ δε-
 λώσεσθαι, ἔστειλε πεντήκοντα μυριάδας στρα-
 τῆαν. ἡγησάμενοι δὲ, εἰ τήνδε τινὲς πόλιν, ἢ
 10 ἐκῶσαν φίλῃ ποιήσαντο, ἢ ἀκῶσαν κατασφύ-
 ψαντο, ῥαδίως τῶν ἄλλων Ελλήνων ἀρξεν,
 ἀπέβησαν εἰς Μαραθῶνα. νομίσαντες οὕτως
 ἂν ἐρημοτάτης εἶναι συμμάχων οὐδὲν Ἑλλήνας,
 εἰ, ἐπὶ σασιαζέσης τῆς Ελλάδος ὥτινι καὶ τρόπῳ
 15 τῆς ὀπιόντας ἀμύνεσθαι, τὸν κίνδυνον ποιήσαντο.
 ἐπὶ δ' αὐτοῖς ἐκ τῶν πρεσβυτέρων ἔργων πρὸς τῆς
 πόλεως τοιαύτη δόξα πρῆσιχεν, ὥς εἰ μὲν πρε-
 σβυτην ἐπ' ἄλλῃ πόλιν ἴωσιν, ἐκείνοις καὶ Ἀθη-
 ναίοις πολεμήσοι· πρεσβυτικῶς γὰρ τοῖς ἀδι-
 20 καμήμοις ἥξει βοήθησόντες· εἰ δ' ἐνθαδὲ πρῶ-
 τον ἀφίξονται, οὐδένας ἄλλους τῶν Ελλήνων
 πολμήσειν, ἐτέρους σώζοντας, φανερόν· ἔχθραν

Η

πρὸς

πρὸς ἐκείνοις ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν χαλάζεσθαι. οἱ μὲν
 τῶν τε τῶντα διανοῶντο· οἱ δ' ἡμέτεροι πρὸς
 γονοί, ἐ λογιζομὲν εἰδότες τὸ ἐν τῷ πολέμῳ κιν-
 δυοῖς, ἀλλὰ νομίζοντες τὸν εὐκλεᾶ θάνατον,
 ἀθάναντες πρὸς τῶν ἀγαθῶν χαλάζειν λόγον, ὅ-
 τε ἐφορέθησαν τὸ πλῆθος τῶν ἐνδοτίων, ἀλλὰ
 τῇ αὐτῇ ἀρετῇ μᾶλλον ἐπίσδυσαν. καὶ αἰ-
 χμώμοι ὅτι ἦσαν οἱ Βάρβαροι αὐτῶν ἐν τῇ
 χώρᾳ, ὅτε ἀνέμειναν πύργους ὅδ' ἐβοηθήσαν
 τὸς συμμάχους· ὅδ' ὠήθησαν δεῖν ἐτέρους τῆς ¹⁰
 σωτηρίας χάριν εἶδέναι, ἀλλὰ σφίσι αὐτοῖς,
 τὸς ἄλλοις Ἕλληνας. ταῦτα μὲν γνώμη πάν-
 τες γνόντες, ἀπὸ τῶν ὀλίγοι πρὸς πολλὰς. ἐνό-
 μζον γὰρ ἀποθνήσκῃ μὲν αὐτοῖς μετὰ πάντων
 περὶ σῆκεν, ἀγαθὸς δ' εἶναι μὲν ὀλίγων· καὶ ¹⁵
 τὰς μὲν ψυχὰς ἀλλοτείας ἀπὸ τὸν θάνατον
 κεκτῆσθαι, τὴν δ' ἐκ τῶν κινδυῶν μνήμην
 ἰδίαν χαλάζειν. ἡξίου δ' οὐς μὴ μόνοι νι-
 κῶν, ὅδ' ἂν μὲν συμμάχων δύνασθαι. καὶ
 ἡτήθεντες μὲν, ὀλίγω τῶν ἄλλων περὶ πολέ- ²⁰
 σθαι, νικήσαντες δὲ, καὶ τὸς ἄλλοις ἐλδυσ-
 εῶσιν· ἄνδρες δ' ἀγαθοὶ γυρόμενοι, καὶ τῶν
 μὲν

μὲν σωμαίων ἀφειδήσδυτες, ὑπὲρ δὲ τῆς δρε-
 τῆς ἔ φιλοψυχήσδυτες, καὶ μᾶλλον τὰς πρὸ
 αὐτοῖς νόμους αἰχμυόμυροι, ἢ τὸν πρὸς τὰς πο-
 λεμίοις κίνδυνον φοβέμυροι, ἔσησαν μὲν τρέ-
 5 παια ὑπὲρ τῆς Ελλάδος τῶν Βαρβάρων, ἐκ
 τῆς αὐτῆς χώρας ὑπὲρ χερμαίων εἰς τὴν ἀλ-
 λοτριάν ἐμβαλόντων ὡς τὰς ὄρεας. ἔτω ὁ
 δὲ ταχέων τὸν κίνδυνον ἐποιήσδυτο, ὥς οἱ
 αὐτοὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἀπήγγειλαν τὴν ἐνθάδε
 10 ἀφίξιν τῶν Βαρβάρων, καὶ τὴν τῶν περηγόνων
 νίκην. καὶ γάρτοι ὅδεῖς τῶν ἄλλων ἔδεισεν
 ὑπὲρ τοῦ μέλλοντος κινδύνου, ἀλλ' ἀκέσδυτες
 ὑπὲρ τῆς αὐτῆς ἐλευθερίας ἠᾶθησαν. ὥς ὅθεν
 θαυμαστὸν, παλαιῶν ἔργων γεγρημένων, ὥσπερ
 15 καινῶν ὄντων, ἐπὶ καὶ νῦν τὴν δρετὴν αὐτῶν
 ὑπὸ πάντων ἀνθρώπων ζηλᾷ.

Μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα Ξέρξης ὁ τῆς Ασίας βασι-
 λεύς, χαλκίφρονης μὲν τῆς Ελλάδος, ἐψευ-
 σμένος δὲ τῆς ἐλπίδος, ἀπμαζόμενος δὲ τῷ γε-
 20 γρημένῳ, ἀχθόμενος δὲ τῇ συμφορᾷ, ὀργιζό-
 μενος δὲ τοῖς αἰτίοις, ἀπαθὴς δ' ὢν χακῶν καὶ
 ἀπειρος ἀνδρῶν ἀγαθῶν, δεκάτῳ ἔτι ὡς

σκιδασάμεντο, χιλίαις μὲν ἢ δεκάκοσiais ναυσὶν
 ἀφίκετο· τῆς δὲ πεζῆς στρατιάς οὕτως ἀπειρον
 τὸ πλῆθος ἦγεν, ὥστε ἢ τὰ ἔθνη τὰ μετ' αὐτὰ
 ἀκολαθήσονται πολὺ ἂν ἔργον εἴη καταλέξαι.
 τὸ δὲ μέγιστον σημεῖον τῆς πλήθους· ὅξον γὰρ
 αὐτὰς χιλίαις ναυσὶ δεκάβιάσαι καὶ τὸ σενότατον
 τῆς Ελλησπόντου πρὸς πεζὴν στρατιάν ἐκ τῆς Ασίας
 εἰς τὴν Εὐρώπην, ἐκ ἠθέλησεν, ἡγέμενος τὴν
 δεκάτριβὴν αὐτὰς πολλὴν ἔσεσθαι. ἀλλ' ὑπερι-
 δὼν καὶ τὰ φύσιν πεφυκότα ἢ τὰ θεῖα ποσά- 10
 ματα, καὶ τὰς ἀνθρωπίνας δεκανοίας, ὁδὸν μὲν
 δεκά τῆς θαλάσσης ἐποίησατο, πλοῦν δὲ δεκά
 τῆς γῆς ἠνάγκασε γνέσθαι· ζεύξας μὲν τὸν
 Ελλησπόντον, διορύξας δὲ τὸν Ἀῶν· ὑφισταμένους
 ὁσδενοὺς, ἀλλὰ τῶν μὲν, ἀκόντων ὑπακούντων, 15
 τῶν δὲ, ἐκόντων πορθιδόντων. οἱ μὲν γὰρ οὐχ
 ἱκανοὶ ἦσαν ἀμυνάσθαι, οἱ δ' ὑπὸ χρημάτων
 διεφθαρμένοι. ἀμφοτέρω δ' ἦν αὐτὰς τὰ πεί-
 θοντα, κέρδος ἢ δέου. Ἀθηναῖοι δ' ἔτι δεκά-
 κειμήρης τῆς Ελλάδος, αὐτοὶ μὲν εἰς τὰς ναῦς 20
 εἰσδύτες, ἐπ' Ἀρτεμίσιον ἐβοήθησαν, Λακε-
 δαιμόνιοι δὲ καὶ τῶν συμμάχων ἔνιοι εἰς Θερ-
 μοπύλῃς

μοπύλας ἀπήντησαν, ἡγόμενοι ἀγὰρ τὴν σενό-
 τητα τῶν χωρίων τὴν πάροδον οἷοί τε ἔσεσθαι
 ἀσφυλάξαι. γρομένους δὲ τῷ κινδύνῳ χάλα
 τὸν αὐτὸν χρόνον, Ἀθηναῖοι μὲν ἐνίκων τῇ ναυ-
 5 μαχίᾳ. Λακεδαιμόνιοι δὲ οὐδὲ ταῖς ψυχαῖς
 ἐνδεεῖς γρόμενοι, ἀλλὰ τῷ πλήθει ψευδέν-
 τες, καὶ οὐς φυλάξειν ὤοντο, καὶ πρὸς οὐς
 κινδυνύσειν ἔμελλον, ἔχ' ἡπληθέντες τῶν ἐνδυ-
 τίων, ἀλλ' ἀποθανόντες ἔπερ ἐτάχθησαν μά-
 10 χεσθαι. τῷ δὲ τῷ τρόπῳ τῶν μὲν δυσυχι-
 σάντων, τῶν δὲ τῆς πρὸδος κρατησάντων, οἱ μὲν
 ἐπορεύοντο ὅπῃ τήνδε τὴν πόλιν· οἱ δ' ἡμέτεροι
 πρὸς ἄλλους πυθόμενοι μὲν τὴν γεγενημένην Λα-
 κεδαιμονίῳ συμφορᾷ, ἀπορριπτοὶ δὲ τοῖς
 15 πρὸς ἐκείνους πρὸς ἄλλους· εἰδότες δ' ὅτι εἰ μὲν
 χάλα γὰρ τοῖς Βαρβάροις ἀπαντήσονται, ὅπῃ
 πλεύσαντες χιλίαι ναυσὶν ἐξήμῃ τὴν πόλιν
 λήψονται· εἰ δὲ εἰς τὰς τεύχεα ἐμβήσονται,
 ὑπὸ τῆς πεζῆς στρατῆρος ἀλώσεται· ἀμφοτέρω
 20 δὲ ἐδυνήσονται, ἀμυνόμεναί τε καὶ φυλακὴν
 ἱκανὴν καταλιπεῖν· δυοῖν δὲ προκειμένοι, πό-
 τερον χρὴ τὴν πατρίδα ἐκλιπεῖν, ἢ μὲν τῶν
 Βαρ-

Βαρβάρων γενομένων καὶ ἀδελώσατο τὰς Ελ-
 ληνας, ἡγησάμενοι κρείττον εἶναι μετ' ἄρετῆς
 καὶ πείας καὶ φύγῃς ἐλευθερίαν, ἢ μετ' ὀνεί-
 δους καὶ πλῆτε δουλείαν τῆς πατρίδος, ὅξε-
 λιπον ὑπὲρ τῆς Ελλάδος τὴν πόλιν· ἔν' ἐν μέρει
 πρὸς ἑκατέραν, ἀλλὰ μὴ πρὸς ἀμφοτέρας
 ἅμα τὰς δυνάμεις κινδυνύσωσιν. ὑπεκτέμενοι
 δὲ παῖδας καὶ γυναῖκας ἢ μητέρας εἰς Σα-
 λαμῖνα, σωήτροιζον καὶ τὸ τῶν ἄλλων συμ-
 μάχων ναυλικόν. ἔπολλαῖς δ' ὕστερον ἡμέραις ¹⁰
 ἦλθε καὶ ἡ περὶ στρατιὰ, καὶ τὸ ναυλικόν τὸ
 τῶν Βαρβάρων, ὃ τίς οὐκ ἂν ἰδὼν ἐφοβήθη;
 οἷος μέγας καὶ δεινὸς τῇδε τῇ πόλει κίνδυνος
 ὑπὲρ τῆς τῶν Ελλήνων ἐλευθερίας ἡγωνιάθη;
 ποίαν δὲ γνώμην εἶχον ἢ οἱ θεώμενοι τὰς ἐν ¹⁵
 ταῖς ναυσὶν ἐκείναις (οὔσης καὶ τῆς αὐτῆς σω-
 τηρίας ἀπίστου, καὶ προσιόντος τῷ κινδυνώου)
 ἢ οἱ μέλλοντες ναυμαχίσειν ὑπὲρ τῆς φιλότιμος,
 ὑπὲρ τῶν ἀθλῶν τῶν ἐν Σαλαμίνιοις; ὅσση-
 τον ὡδωταχόθεν φεικισήκε πλῆθος πολέμιων, ²⁰
 ὥστε ἐλάχιστον μὲν αὐτοῖς εἶναι τῶν παρόντων
 κακῶν τὸν θάνατον τὸν αὐτῆς, τὰ αὐτὸν περι-
 δέναι,

δέναι, μέγιστην δὲ συμφορὰν αὐτῶν τῶν Βαρ-
 βάρων εὐτυχησάντων οὐδὲν ἔκτεθέντας ἔλπι-
 ζον πείσεσθαι.

Ἦκου, ἀλλὰ τὴν ὑπάρχουσαν ἀπορίαν,
 5 πολλάκις μὲν ἐδεξιώσαντο ἀλλήλους, εἰκό-
 τως δὲ σφὰς αὐτὰς ὠλοφύραντο. εἰδότες μὲν
 τὰς σφετέρους ναῦς ὀλίγας οὔσας, ὁρῶντες δὲ
 πολλάς τὰς τῶν πολεμίων. ὁπσάμβροι δὲ
 τὴν μὲν πόλιν ἡρημωμένην, τὴν δὲ χώραν πορ-
 10 θημένην, καὶ μετὰ τῶν Βαρβάρων ἱερῶν δὲ
 κρημνῶν, ἀπάντων δ' ἐγγὺς ὄντων τῶν δεινῶν
 ἀκούοντες δ' ἐν ταύτῃ συμμεμνημένου Ἑλληνι-
 κοῦ καὶ βαρβαρικοῦ παῖντο, πῶς κελευσμοῦ
 δ' ἀμφοτέρων, καὶ κραυγῆς τῶν ἀφθιερ-
 15 μῶν, καὶ τῆς θαλάττης μεσῆς τῶν νεκρῶν, καὶ
 πολλῶν μὲν συμπιπτόντων, καὶ φιλίων καὶ πολε-
 μίων ναυαγίων, ἀντιπάλῃς ἢ πολὺν χρόνον οὐ-
 σης τῆς ναυμαχίας. δοκῶντες τότε μὲν νενικη-
 κέναι καὶ σεσῶσθαι, τότε δ' ἠπῆσθαι καὶ ἀπολωλέναι.
 20 ἦπερ, ἀλλὰ τὸν πρῶτον φόβον, πολλὰ μὲν ὤψ-
 ησαν ἰδεῖν ὧν οὐκ εἶδον, πολλὰ δ' ἀκῆσαι ὧν
 οὐκ ἤκουσαν. ποῖα δ' ἔχ' ἰκετεῖα Θεῶν ἐχρόντο,

θυσιῶν ἀναμνήσεις; ἑλεός τε παίδων, καὶ
 γυναικῶν πόθος, οἶκτός τε πατέρων καὶ μη-
 τέρων; λογισμός τε, εἰ δυσυχήσειαν, τῶν μελ-
 λόντων ἔσεσθαι κακῶν; τίς οὐκ ἂν Θεῶν ἠλέησεν
 αὐτὸς ὑπὸ τῷ μεγέθει τῷ κινδύνου; ἢ τίς
 ἀνθρώπων οὐκ ἂν ἐδάκρυσεν; ἢ τίς τῆς τόλμης
 αὐτὸς οὐκ ἂν ἠγάσθη; ἢ πολὺ πλείστον ἐκείνοι
 καὶὰ τίμῳ ἄρετῃ ἀπάντων ἀνθρώπων δῖνην γ-
 ραν καὶ ἐν τοῖς βελύμασι καὶ ἐν τοῖς τῷ πο-
 λέμῃ κινδύνοις. ἐκλιπόντες μὲν τίμῳ πόλιν, ¹⁰
 εἰς τὰς ναῦς δ' ἐσβούτες, τὰς δ' αὐτῆς ψυχὰς
 ὀλίγας οὔσας ἀντιτάξοντες τῷ πλείετι τῷ τῆς
 Ἀσίας. ἐπέδειξαν δὲ πᾶσιν ἀνθρώποις, νικῆ-
 σαντες τῇ ναυμαχίᾳ, ὅτι κρείττον μετ' ὀλίγων
 ὑπὲρ τῆς αὐτῆς ἐλευθερίας κινδυνεύειν, ἢ μὲν ¹⁵
 πολλῶν βασιλευμενῶν ὑπὲρ τῆς ἐτέρων δα-
 λείας. πλείστα δὲ καὶ κάλλιστα ἐκείνοι ὑπὲρ τῆς
 τῶν Ελλήνων ἐλευθερίας συνεβάλλοντο, στρατη-
 γὸν μὲν, Θεμιστοκλέα, ἰκανώτατον εἶπεν, καὶ
 γνώμαι, καὶ περὶ τῆς ναῦς ἢ πλείους τῶν ἄλ- ²⁰
 λων ἀπάντων συμμαχῶν, ἀνδρας δ' ἐμπειρο-
 τάτους. καίτοι τίνες ἂν τέτοις τῶν ἄλλων Ελ-
 λήνων

λῆνων ἦσαν γνώμη, καὶ πλήθος, καὶ δρετῇ;
 ὥστε δικαίως μὲν ἀναμφισβητήτως δρεῖς εἶα τῆς
 ναυμαχίας ἔλαβον πρὸς τῆς Ελλάδος, εἰκό-
 τως δὲ τὴν εὐτυχίαν ὁμονοῦσαν τοῖς κινδυνού-
 5 ἰς ἐκτίσδωτο· γνησίαν δὲ καὶ αὐτόχθονα τοῖς ἐκ
 τῆς Ασίας Βαρβάροις τὴν αὐτῇ δρετὴν ἐπε-
 δείξδωτο. ἐν μὲν ὅν τῇ ναυμαχίᾳ τοῖς αὐ-
 τῆς πρὸς ἀρχόντες, ἢ πολὺ πλείους τῶν κινδύνων
 μεταρχόντες τῇ ἰδίᾳ δρετῇ κοινὴν τὴν ἐλευθε-
 10 ρίαν τοῖς ἄλλοις ἐκτίσδωτο.

Υπερβὴν δὲ Πελοποννησίων ἀνατειχιζόντων
 τὸν Ἰσθμὸν, καὶ ἀγαπώντων μὲν τῇ σωτηρίᾳ,
 νομιζόντων δ' ἀπηλλάχθαι τὴν καὶ θάλατταν
 κινδυνού, ἢ ἀνανομήτων τῆς ἄλλης Ἑλληνας
 15 πειθεῖν ὑπὸ τοῖς Βαρβάροις γυμνόμενης, ὁρμη-
 δέντες Ἀθηναῖοι συνεβόλδον αὐτοῖς, εἰ τῷ τῇ
 τὴν γνώμῃ ἐξουσίαν, πρὸς ἅπασαν τὴν Πελο-
 πόννησον τείχος πειθεῖν. εἰ γὰρ αὐτοὶ ὑπὸ
 Ἑλλήνων προσιδόμενοι μὴ τῶν Βαρβάρων ἔσον-
 20 ται, οὐτ' ἐκείνοις δεήσειν χιλίων νεῶν, οὔτε τῆ-
 τῆς ὠφελήσιν τὸ ἐν Ἰσθμῷ τείχος. ἀκινδύνως
 γὰρ ἔσεσθαι τὴν τῆς θαλάσσης δρετὴν τῇ Βα-
 I σιλέως.

σιλέως. διδασκόμενοι δὲ καὶ νομίζοντες αὐτοὶ
 μὲν ἄδικά τε ποιεῖν καὶ κακῶς βουλεύεσθαι,
 Ἀθηναίους δὲ δίκαιά τε λέγειν, καὶ τὰ βέλ-
 πιστα αὐτοῖς πραινέειν, ἐβόηθησαν εἰς Πλαταιάς·
 ἀποδράντων δὲ ὑπὸ νύκτα τῶν πλείστων συμ-
 μάχων ἐκ τῶν τάξεων, ἀλλὰ τὸ πλῆθος τῶν πο-
 λεμίων, Λακεδαιμόνιοι μὲν καὶ Τεγεάται τὰς
 Βαρυβάρας ἐπέψαυτο, Ἀθηναῖοι δὲ καὶ Πλα-
 ταιεῖς πάντας τὰς Ἑλληνας ἐνίκων μαχόμενοι
 τὰς ἀπογνόντας τῆς ἐλευθερίας, καὶ ὑπομείνουσιν ¹⁰
 τὴν δουλείαν. ἐν ἐκείνῃ δὲ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ καλλίστην
 τελευτῶ τοῖς πρεσβυτέροις κινδυόις ἔπιθύντες,
 βέβαιον μὲν τὴν ἐλευθερίαν τῇ Εὐρώπῃ χαλρι-
 γάσαντο, ἐν ἅπασιν δὲ τοῖς κινδυόις δόντες
 ἔλεγχον τῆς ἑαυτῶν ἀρετῆς, καὶ μόνοι καὶ μετ' ¹⁵
 ἑτέρων, καὶ πεζομαχοῦντες καὶ ναυμαχοῦντες,
 καὶ πρὸς Βαρυβάρας καὶ πρὸς οὗτο Ἑλληνας,
 ὑπὸ πάντων ἠξιώθησαν, καὶ μετ' ὧν ἐκινδύ-
 νουσι καὶ πρὸς οὓς ἐπολέμουσι, ἡγεμόνες γινέσθαι
 τῆς Ἑλλάδος.

20

Υσέρω δὲ χερόνῳ Ἑλληνικοῦ πολέμου χαλρι-
 σάντος, ἀλλὰ ζῆλον τῶν γεγενημένων, καὶ φόνον
 τῶν

τῶν περὶ στρατῶν, μέγα μὲν ἅπαντες φρε-
 νῶντες, μικρῶν δ' ἐκκλημάτων ἕκαστοι δεόμενοι,
 ναυμαχίας Ἀθηναίοις πρὸς Αἰγινήτας καὶ τὰς
 ἐκείνων συμμάχους γενομένης, ἐβδομήκοντα τριή-
 5 ρεις αὐτῶν ἐλάμβανον. πολιορκουμένων δὲ καὶ
 τὸν αὐτὸν χρόνον Αἴγυπτον τε καὶ Αἴγιναν, καὶ
 τῆς ἡλικίας ἀπέσης ἐν τε ταῖς ναυσὶ καὶ ἐν τῷ
 πεζῷ στρατῷ, Κορίνθιοι καὶ οἱ ἐκείνων σύμ-
 μαχοι ἡγέμευροι ἢ εἰς ἔρημον τὴν χώραν ἐμ-
 10 βαλεῖν, ἢ ἐξ Αἰγίνης ἀξίειν τὸ στρατόπεδον, ἐξελ-
 θόντες πανδημεὶ Γεράνειαν κατέλαβον. Ἀθη-
 ναῖοι δὲ, τῶν μὲν ἀπόντων, τῶν δ' ἐγγὺς ὄντων,
 ὁδόνειρα ἐτόλμισαν μετὰπέμψασθαι· ταῖς δ'
 αὐτῶν ψυχαῖς πισδύσαντες, καὶ τῶν ὀπίοντων
 15 κατὰφρενήσαντες, οἱ γεραίτεροι καὶ οἱ τῆς ἡλι-
 κίας ἐντὸς γεγονότες, ἡξίουσαν αὐτοὶ μόνοι τὸν
 κίνδυνον ποιήσαντες· οἱ μὲν, ἐμπειρία τὴν λῆ-
 τὴν, οἱ δὲ φύσιν κεκτημένοι· καὶ οἱ μὲν, αὐτοὶ
 πολλαχῶς ἀγαθοὶ γεγνημένοι, οἱ δὲ, ἐκείνοις
 20 μιμέμευροι τῶν μὲν πρεσβυτέρων ἀρχὴν ἔπι-
 σταμένων, τῶν δὲ νεωτέρων τὸ ἑπιτατόμενον
 ποιεῖν δυναμένων. Μυρωνίδης δ' ἐν στρατηγείᾳ

ἀπαντήσαντες αὐτοὶ εἰς τὴν Μεγαρικὴν, ἐνίκων
μαχόμενοι ἅπασαν τὴν δυνάμιν τὴν ἐκείνων,
τοῖς ἤδη ἀπειρηκόσι καὶ τοῖς οὐπω δυναμύοις
οὗτο εἰς τὴν σφετέρην ἐμβαλεῖν ἀξιώσαντας εἰς
τὴν Ἀλλοτερίαν ἀπαντήσαντες, τρώπαιον δὲ σή-
σαντες, καλλίστου μὲν αὐτοῖς ἔργα, αἰχίσια δὲ
τοῖς πολεμίοις, οἱ μὲν οὖν ἐπὶ τοῖς σώμασιν,
οἱ δ' οὐπω δυνάμει ταῖς δὲ ψυχαῖς ἀμ-
φότεροι κρείττερος γυρόμενοι, μὲν καλλίστης δόξης
εἰς τὴν αὐτῇ ἀπελθόντες, οἱ μὲν πάλιν ἐπαι-
δοῦντο, οἱ δὲ πρὸς τῶν λοιπῶν ἐβελδύοντο.

Καθ' ἕκαστον μὲν οὕτω ἔραδιον τὰ ὑπὸ πολ-
λῶν κινδυνοῦντα ὑφ' ἑνὸς ρηθῆναι, οὗτο δὲ τὰ
ἐν ἅπαντι τῷ χρόνῳ πεπραχέντα ἐν μιᾷ ἡμέρᾳ
δηλωθῆναι. τίς γὰρ ἂν ἢ χρόνος, ἢ λόγος ἢ
ρήτωρ ἱκανὸς γένοιτο μνηύσαι τὴν τῶν ἐνθάδε
κινδύνων ἀνδρῶν ἀρετὴν; μείλα πλείων γὰρ
πόνων, καὶ φθνερωτάτων ἀγώνων, καὶ καλλί-
στων κινδύνων, ἐλθόντες μὲν ἐποίησαν τὴν Ελ-
λάδα, μεγίστην δ' ἀπέδειξαν τὴν ἐαυτῶν πα-
τείδα· ἐβδομήκοντα μὲν ἔτη τῆς θαλάττης ἀε-
ξάντες, ἀσασιάς δὲ πρὸς αἰχμῶντες οὗτο συμμα-
χας.

χας· οὐ τοῖς ὀλίγοις ὅτ' πολλοὺς δ' ἐλδύειν
 ἀξιώσαντες, ἀλλὰ τὸ ἴσον ἔχειν ἅπαντας ἀναγ-
 χασάντες· ἐδὲ ὅτ' ἀσπόμενοι ἀδενεῖς ποιεῖν-
 τες, ἀλλὰ καὶ κείνοις ἰσχυροὺς καὶ θισάντες· καὶ
 5 τὴν αὐτῶν δυνάμιν ἴσασιν ἐπιδείξαντες,
 ὡς ὁ μέγας Βασιλεὺς ὅκ' ἐπὶ τῶν ἀλλοτρίων
 ἐπεθύμει, ἀλλ' ἐδίδου τῶν ἑαυτοῦ, καὶ περὶ τῶν
 λοιπῶν ἐφοβεῖτο. καὶ οὔτε τελέρεις ἐν ἐκείνῳ
 πρὸ χρόνων ἐκ τῆς Ἀσίας ἐπλάσσαν, οὔτε τύραννος
 10 ἐν τοῖς Ἕλλησι κατέστη, οὔτε Ἑλληνὶς πόλις ὑπὸ
 τῶν Βαρβάρων ἠνδραποδίσθη. Ἰσάμενος σω-
 φροσύνῃ καὶ δέος ἢ τέτων ἀρετῇ πᾶσιν ἀνθρώ-
 ποις παρήχεν. ὧν ἕνεκα δὲ μόνος καὶ παρ-
 σάτας τῶν Ἑλλήνων καὶ ἡγεμόνας τῶν πόλεων
 15 γίγνεσθαι.

Ἐπέδειξαν δὲ καὶ ἐν ταῖς δυστυχίαις τὴν ἑαυ-
 τῶν ἀρετήν. ἀπολομένων γὰρ τῶν νεῶν ἐν
 Ἑλλησπόντῳ, εἴτε ἡγεμόνος κακία, εἴτε Θεῶν
 ἀγνοία, καὶ συμφορᾶς ἐκείνης μεγέθους γνο-
 20 μύνης καὶ ἡμῖν τοῖς δυσυχήσαισι, καὶ τοῖς ἄλ-
 λοις Ἕλλησιν, ἐδήλωσαν ἐπὶ πολλῷ χρόνῳ ὅσον
 ὅτι ἡ τῆς πόλεως δυνάμεις τῆς Ἑλλάδος ἦν σω-
 τηρία.

πεία. ἑτέρων γὰρ ἡγεμόνων γενομένων, ἐνίκη-
σαν μὲν ναυμαχοῦντες τὰς Ἑλληνας οἱ περὶ-
τερον εἰς τὴν θάλασσαν ἐκ ἐμβαίνοντες, ἔπλου-
σαν δ' εἰς τὴν Εὐρώπῳ· δαλδύουσι ὅ πόλεις
τῶν Ἑλλήνων, τύραννοι δ' ἔκχαθιστῶσιν, οἱ μὲν, 5
μεῖα τὴν ἡμετέραν συμφορὰν, οἱ δὲ, μᾶλλον τὴν
νίκην τῶν Βαρβάρων. ὥς' ἄξιον ἦν εἶπαι τῷδε
τῷ τάφῳ τότε κείμεναι τῇ Ἑλλάδι, καὶ πει-
σῆσαι τὰς ἐνθάδε κειμένους, ὥς συγκαταταπι-
ομένης τῆς αὐτῆς ἐλευθερίας τῇ τέττων ἀρετῇ· 10
ὥς δυστυχῆς μὲν ἡ Ἑλὰς τοιούτων ἀνδρῶν ὀρ-
φωτὴν γενομένη, εὐτυχῆς δ' ὁ τῆς Ἀσίας βασι-
λεὺς, ἑτέρων ἡγεμόνων λαβόμενος. τῇ μὲν γὰρ
τέττων σεσηθείσῃ δαλείᾳ παύεσθαι, τῷ δ' ἄλ-
λων ἀρετῶν ζήλος ἐγγίνεται τῆς τῶν περὶ 15
γόνων ἀφροσύνης.

Ἀλλὰ ταῦτα μὲν εἰρησίων ὑπὸ πάσης
ὀλοφύρεσθαι τῆς Ἑλλάδος. ἐκείνων δὲ τῶν
ἀνδρῶν ἄξιον καὶ ἰδίᾳ καὶ δημοσίᾳ μεμνήσθαι,
οἱ φύγοντες τὴν δαλείαν, καὶ παρὰ τὴν δικαίαν 20
μαχόμενοι, καὶ ὑπὸ τῆς δημοκρατίας στυγιά-
σασθαι, πάλιν πολέμους κεκτημένοι, εἰς τὸν

Πει-

Πειραιᾷ κατήλθον, οὐχ ὑπὸ νόμου ἀναγκα-
 δέντες, ἀλλ' ὑπὸ τῆς φύσεως πειαδέντες, καινοῖς
 κινδύοις τὴν παλαιὰν τῶν παρθόνων ἀρετὴν
 μιμησάμενοι, ταῖς αὐτῆς ψυχαῖς κοινῇ τὴν
 5 πόλιν ἢ τοῖς ἄλλοις κτησάμενοι, θάνατον μετ'
 ἐλευθερίας αἰετούμενοι, ἢ βίον μὲν δουλείας
 οὐχ ἥπλον ταῖς συμφοραῖς αἰχμηόμενοι, ἢ τοῖς
 ἐχθροῖς ὀργιζόμενοι· μᾶλλον βεληθέντες ἐν
 τῇ αὐτῇ ἀποθνήσκουσιν, ἢ ζῆν τὴν ἀλλοτείαν
 10 οἰκουῦντες, συμμάχους μὲν ὄντας καὶ σωθῆ-
 χας ἔχοντες, πολεμῖας δὲ τὰς πρῶτον ὑπάρ-
 χοντας ἢ τὰς πολίτας τὰς ἑαυτῶν. ἀλλ' ὅμως
 ἐπὶ τὸ πλῆθος τῶν ἐνδυπίων φοβηθέντες, ἀλλ' ἐν
 τοῖς σώμασι τοῖς ἑαυτῶν κινδυνεύοντες, ἑρ-
 15 παιον μὲν τῶν πολεμίων ἔστησαν, μάρτυρας δὲ
 τῆς αὐτῶν ἀρετῆς εἰγὺς ὄντας τὰδε τὰ μνήμαίους
 οὗτοι Λακεδαιμονίων τάφοις παρέχονται. καὶ
 γάρτοι μεγάλῃ μὲν ἀντὶ μικρᾶς ἀπέδειξαν
 τὴν πόλιν, ὁμονοῶσαν δὲ ἀντὶ σασιαζέσεως ἀπέ-
 20 φηναν, τείχη δ' ἀντὶ τῶν καθηρημένων ἀνέστησαν.
 οἱ δὲ κατελθόντες αὐτῶν, ἀδελφὰ τὰ βελεύ-
 ματα τοῖς ἔργοις τῶν ἐνθάδε κειμένων ὁπδει-
 κνύουσιν,

κινῶντες, ὅσα ὑπὲρ πτωρίαν τῶν ἐχθρῶν, ἀλλ'
 ὑπὲρ σωτηρίαν τῆς πόλεως ἐτράποντο· καὶ οὔτε
 ἐλαττωθῆναι δυναμῆμοι, οὔτ' αὐτοὶ πλέον ἔχειν
 δεόμενοι, τῆς μὲν αὐτῶν ἐλευθερίας καὶ τοῖς βα-
 λυμῆμοις δουλεύειν μετέδωκαν, τῆς δ' ἐκείνων
 δουλείας αὐτοὶ μετέχουν ὅσα ἡξίωσαν. ἔργοις δ'
 μεγίστοις καὶ χαλλίστοις ἀπελογίσθητο, ὅτι οὐ
 κακία τῇ αὐτῶν ὅδ' ἀρετῇ τῶν πολεμίων
 περύτερον ἐδυσύχνησεν ἢ πόλις. εἰ γὰρ σασιά-
 σθαιτες πρὸς ἀλλήλους, βία παρόντων Πελο-¹⁰
 ποννησίων καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἐχθρῶν, εἰς τὴν αὐτῶν
 οἰοί τε ἐγίνοντο κατελθεῖν, δῆλον ὅτι ῥαδίως
 ἂν ὁμονοῶντες πολεμεῖν αὐτοῖς ἐδύναντο. ἐκεῖνοι
 μὲν οὖν ἀπὸ τῆς ἐν Πειραιᾷ κινδύνους ὑπὸ πτό-
 των ἀνθρώπων ζήλῃνται· ἀξίον δὲ καὶ τῆς ξένης¹⁵
 τῆς ἐνθάδε κειμῆμοις ἐπαινέσαι, οἱ τῷ πλήθει
 βοηθήσαντες, καὶ πρὸς τῆς ἡμετέρας σωτηρίας
 μαχόμενοι, πατεῖδα τὴν ἀρετὴν ἡγήσαμῆμοι,
 τοιαύτην τῇ βίᾳ τελειωτὴν ἐποίησαντο· ἀνθ' ὧν
 ἡ πόλις αὐτὰς καὶ ἐπένθησε καὶ ἔθαψε δημο-²⁰
 σία, καὶ ἔδωκεν ἔχειν αὐτοῖς τὸν ἅπαντα χρόνον
 πᾶς αὐτὰς πρὸς τοῖς ἀσπίσι.

Οἱ δὲ νῦν θαπτόμενοι, βοηθήσαντες Κοριν-
 θίοις ὑπὸ παλαιῶν φίλων ἀδικεμενέοις, κοινοὶ
 σύμμαχοι γρόμενοι, οὐ τιμὴ αὐτῶν γνώμῃ
 Λακεδαιμονίοις ἔχοντες, (οἱ μὲν γὰρ τῶν ἀγα-
 5 θῶν αὐτοῖς ἐφθόνημι, οἱ δὲ ἀδικεμενέες αὐτὰς
 ἠλέειν) ἔτε τῆς περτέρας ἔχθρας μεμνημένοι,
 ἀλλὰ τιμὴ πρῶσαν φιλίαν παρὲς πολλοῦ ποίε-
 μενοι, πᾶσιν ἀνθρώποις φανεράν τιμὴν αὐτῶν
 ἀρετῶν ἐπέδειξαν. ἐτόλμυσαν γὰρ, μεγά-
 10 λην ποίεοντες τιμὴν Ἑλλάδα, οὐ μόνον παρὲς τῆς
 αὐτῶν σωτηρίας κινδυνεύειν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ὑπὲρ
 τῆς τῶν πολεμίων ἐλευθερίας ἀποθνήσκειν.
 τοῖς γὰρ Λακεδαιμονίων συμμάχοις παρὲς τῆς
 ἐκείνων ἐλευθερίας ἐμάχοντο. νικήσαντες μὲν
 15 γὰρ, ἐκείνοις τῶν αὐτῶν ἡξίουμι· δυσυχήσαντες
 δὲ, βέβαιον τιμὴν δουλείαν τοῖς ἐν τῇ Πελοπον-
 νήσῳ κατέλιπον. ἐκείνοις μὲν οὕτω οὕτω ἀγα-
 κειμενέοις ὁ βίος οἰκτερὸς καὶ ὁ θάνατος εὐκτός·
 ἔτοι δὲ, καὶ ζῶντες καὶ ἀποθανόντες, ζηλωτοί·
 20 παίδευθέντες μὲν ἐν τοῖς τῶν παρθόνων ἀγα-
 θοῖς, ἄνδρες ὅ γρόμενοι, πλεονεκτήσαντες δόξαν
 ἀφώσαντες, καὶ τιμὴν αὐτῶν ἀρετῶν ἐπιδεί-
 Κ ξαντες.

ξαντες. πολλῶν μὲν γὰρ καὶ καλῶν αἵτιοι γε-
 γήνηται τῇ ἐαυτῶν πατείδι, ἐπινώρθωσαν δὲ
 τὰ ὑφ' ἐτέρων δυσυχηθέντα, πόρρω δ' ἀπὸ τῆς
 αὐτῶν τὸν πόλεμον κατέστησαν. ἐτελεύτησαν ὅ-
 τὸν βίον ὥσπερ χεὶρ οὗ ἀγαθὸς ἀποθνήσκει,
 τῇ μὲν πατείδι τὰ τροφεῖα ἀποδόντες, τοῖς
 δὲ θρέψασι λύπας καταλιπόντες. ὥσε ἀξιον
 τοῖς ζῶσι τούτους ποθεῖν, καὶ σφᾶς αὐτὲς ὀλο-
 φύρεσθαι, καὶ τὰς παροσκήκοντας αὐτῶν ἐλεεῖν τῇ
 ὀπλοῖπυ βίου. τίς γὰρ αὐτοῖς ἐπὶ ἡδονὴν κατα-
 λείπειται, τριέτων ἀνδρῶν γαπιομύμων, οἱ πάντα
 παρὲν ἐλάττωτος τῆς ἀρετῆς ἡγάμενοι, αὐτὲς μὲν
 ἀπεσέτησαν βίᾳ, χήρας ὅτι γυναικας ἐποίησαν;
 ὀρφανὰς ὅτι τὰς αὐτῶν παῖδας ἀπέλιπον; ἐρη-
 μοις δ' ἀδελφοὺς καὶ πατέρας καὶ μητέρας
 κατέστησαν; πολλῶν δὲ καὶ δεινῶν ὑπαρχόντων,
 οὗ μὲν παῖδας αὐτῶν ζηλῶ, ὅτι νεώτεροί εἰσιν
 ἢ ὥσε εἰδέναι οἷων πατέρων ἐσέτηνται. οἷων
 δ' οὗτοι γεγονάσιν οἰκτεῖρω, ὅτι πρεσβύτεροι ἢ
 ὥσε ὀπλοῦσθαι τῆς δυσυχίας τῆς ἐαυτῶν. τί
 γὰρ ἂν τέτων ἀνιαρώτερον γένοιτο, ἢ τεκεῖν μὲν
 καὶ θρέψαι καὶ θάψαι τὰς αὐτῶν, ἐν δὲ τῇ
 γένεα

γῆρα ἀδυνατῆς μὲν εἶναι τῷ σώματι, πασῶν
 δ' ἀπεσσημνύμενος τῶν ἐλπίδων, ἀφίλος ἢ ἀπό-
 ρους γεγονέναι; ὑπὸ δὲ τῶν αὐτῶν πρῶτερον
 ζητῶσθαι, καὶ νῦν ἐλεεῖσθαι; ποθεινότερον δ'
 αὐτοῖς εἶναι τὸν θάνατον τῷ βίῳ; ὅσω γὰρ
 ἄνδρες ἀμείνους ἦσαν, τοσέτω τοῖς κατὰλειπο-
 μύμοις τὸ πένθος μείζον. πῶς δ' αὐτὸς ἤδη
 λῆξαι τῆς λύπης; πότερον ἐν ταῖς τῆς πόλεως
 συμφοραῖς; ἀλλὰ τότε αὐτῶν εἰκὸς καὶ τὰς
 10 ἄλλας μεμνηῖσθαι. ἀλλ' ἐν ταῖς εὐτυχίαις ταῖς
 κοιναῖς; ἀλλ' ἱκανὸν λυπῆσθαι, τῶν μὲν σφε-
 τέρων τέκνων τετελευτηκότων, τῶν δὲ ζώντων
 ἀπολαυόντων τῆς τέτων ἀρετῆς. ἀλλ' ἐν τοῖς
 ἰδίοις κινδύνοις; ὅταν ὁρῶσι τὰς μὲν πρῶτερον
 15 ἔντας φίλους, φεύγοντας τὴν αὐτῶν ἀπορίαν,
 τὰς δ' ἐχθρούς, μέγα φρονοῦντας ἐπὶ ταῖς
 δυστυχίαις ταῖς τέτων; μόνιν δ' ἂν μοι δοκῶ-
 μεν ταύτῃ τοῖς ἐνθάδε κειμένοις ἀποδοῦναι
 χάριν, εἰ τὰς μὲν τοκέας αὐτῶν ὁμοίως ὥσπερ
 20 ἐκείνοι πρὸ πολλοῦ ποιοίμεθα, τὰς δὲ παῖδας
 ἕτως ἀπαζοίμεθα ὥσπερ αὐτοὶ πατέρες ὄντες·
 ταῖς ὃ γυναιξὶν εἰ τοιούτους βοηθὸς ἡμῶς αὐτὰς

πρέχομεν οἷοίπερ ἐκείνοι ζῶντες ἦσαν. τίνας
 γὰρ ἂν εἰκότως μᾶλλον τιμῶμεν τῶν ἐνθάδε
 κειμένων; τίνας δ' ἂν τῶν ζώντων δικηρότερον
 ὡς πολλοῦ ποιοίμεθα, ἢ τὰς τέτοις περὶ-
 κούσας; οἱ τῆς μὲν τέτων ἀρετῆς τὸ ἴσον τοῖς
 ἄλλοις ἀπέλαυσαν, ἀποθανόντων δὲ μόνοι γνη-
 σίως τῆς δυσυχίας μετέχουσιν. ἀλλὰ γὰρ οὐκ
 οἶδ' ὅτι δὲ τοιαῦτα ὀλοφύρεαι. ἔ γ' ἐλθου-
 θάνομεν ἡμᾶς αὐτὰς ὄντες θνητοί. ὥς τί δὲ,
 ἂν πάλαι προσεδουκῶμεν πείσεσθαι, ὑπὸ τέτων ¹⁰
 νυν ἄχθεαι; ἢ λίαν ἔτω βαρέως φέρειν ἐπι-
 ταῖς τῆς φύσεως συμφοραῖς, ἐπιταμένους ὅτι ὁ
 θάνατος κοινὸς καὶ τοῖς χειρίστοις καὶ τοῖς βελ-
 τίστοις; ἔτε γ' οὐκ οὐκ ἀποροῖ, ἔτε τὰς
 ἀγαθὰς θαυμάζει, ἀλλ' ἴσον ἑαυτὸν πρέχει ¹⁵
 πᾶσιν. εἰ μὲν γ' οἷόν τε ἦν τοῖς τὰς ἐν τῷ πο-
 λέμῳ κινδύνοις ἀφφυγοῦσιν ἀθανάτους εἶναι
 τὸν λοιπὸν χρόνον, ἄξιον ἦν τοῖς ζῶσι τὸν ἀπαν-
 τα χρόνον πενθεῖν τὰς τεθνεώτας. νυν δὲ ἢ τε
 φύσις καὶ νόσων ἡτῶν καὶ γήρας, ὅ, τε δαίμων ²⁰
 ὁ πῶς ἡμετέραν μοῖραν εἰληχῶς ἀπαραιτήθη.
 ὥς περὶ τούτους εὐδαιμονεσάτους ἡγεῖσθαι,
 οἷπνες

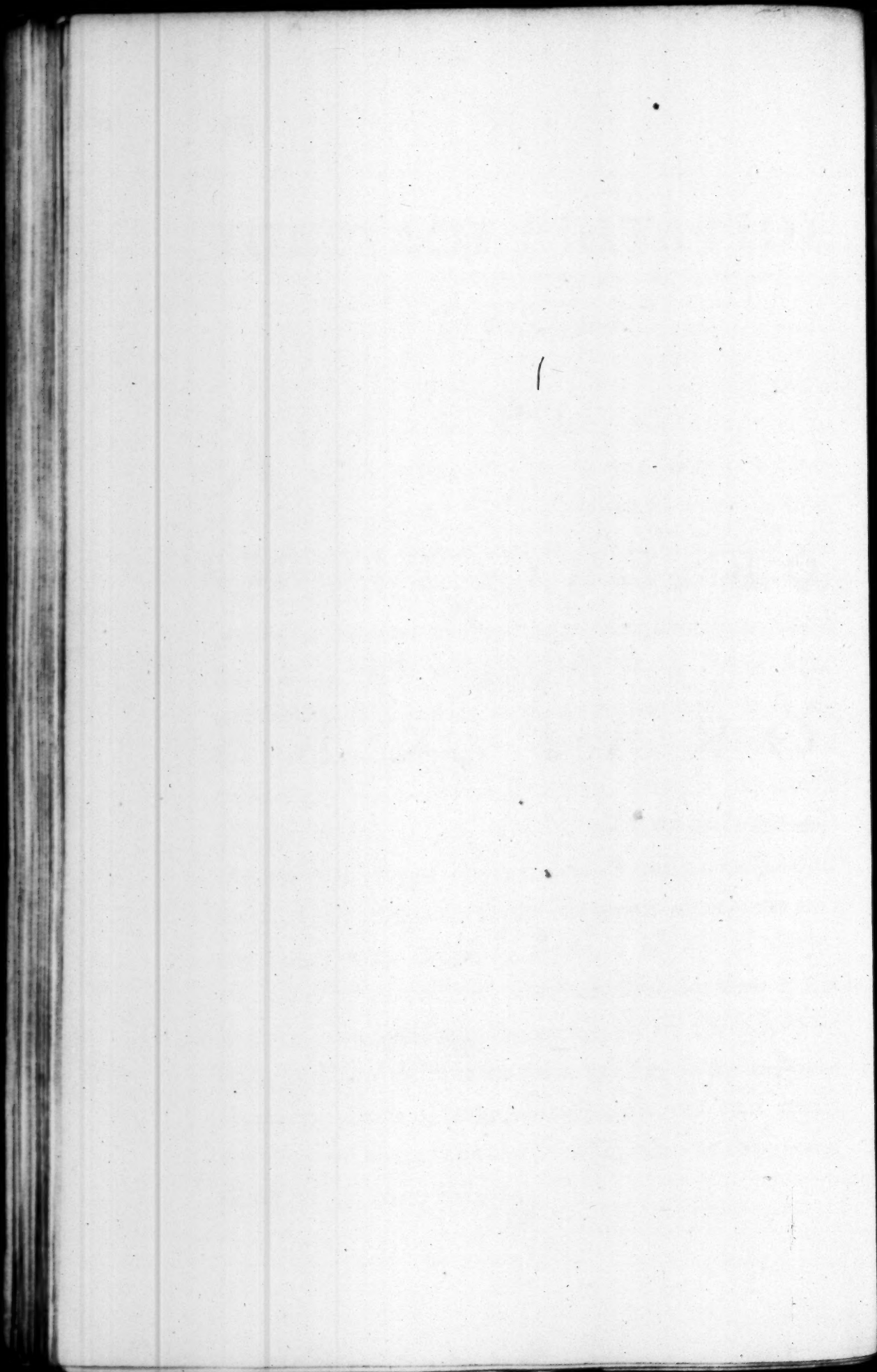
οἵπινες ὑπὲρ μεγίστων καὶ χαλλίστων κινδυνού-
 σθοντες, ἔτως τὸν βίον ἐτελεύτησαν· οὐκ ἔπι-
 τρέψοντες πρὶ αὐτῆς τῇ τύχῃ, οὐδὲ ἀναμεί-
 νοντες τὸν αὐτόματον θάνατον, ἀλλ' ἐκλεξά-
 μθοι τὸν χαλλίστον. καὶ γάρ τοι ἀγῆρατοι μὲν
 αὐτῆς αἱ μνήμαι, ζηλωταὶ δὲ αὐτῆς ὑπὸ πάν-
 των ἀνθρώπων αἱ τιμαί· οἱ πενθόντα μὲν διὰ
 τὴν φύσιν ὡς θνητοί, ὑμνῶντα δὲ ὡς ἀθάνατοι
 διὰ τὴν δρετλήν. καὶ γάρ τοι θαπνίσκονται δη-
 10 10 μουσία καὶ ἀγῶνες τίθενται ἐπ' αὐτοῖς ῥώμης
 καὶ σοφίας καὶ πλέετα, ὡς ἀξίοις ὄντας τὰς ἐν
 τῷ πολέμῳ τελευτηκότας ταῖς αὐταῖς τιμαῖς
 ἢ τὰς ἀθανάτους τιμάσθαι. ἐγὼ μὲν οὖν αὐ-
 τὰς καὶ μακαρίζω τὰ θανάτα καὶ ζηλώ, καὶ
 15 15 μόνοις τέτοις ἀνθρώπων οἶμα κρεῖττον εἶναι γε-
 νέσθαι, οἵπινες ἐπειδὴ θνητῆς σωμάτων ἔτυχον,
 ἀθάνατον μνήμῃ διὰ τὴν δρετλήν αὐτῆς
 κατέλιπον. ὅμως δ' ἀνάγκη τοῖς ἀρχαίοις
 ἔρεσι χεῖρσθαι, καὶ θεραπεύοντας τὸν πάτερον
 20 20 νόμον, ὁλοφύρεσθαι τὰς θαπνιζόμενους.

ΥΠΕΡΙΔΟΥ ΕΠΙΤΑΦΙΟΥ

Τὸ σωζόμενον.

ΧΑλεπὸν μὲν ἴσως ὅτι τῆς ἐν τοῖς τοιάτοις ὄντας πάθει ὠδυνάσῃ· τὰ γὰρ πένθη οὔτε λόγῳ οὔτε νόμῳ κοιμίζεται· ἀλλ' ἡ φύσις ἐχέου καὶ φιλία πατρὸς καὶ τελευτήσαντα ὀνεισμὸν ἔχει τῷ λυπεῖσθαι. ὅμως δὲ χρὴ παρρεῖν, καὶ τῆς λύπης παρῆναι εἰς τὸ εὐδεχόμενον· καὶ μεμνησθαι μὴ μόνον τῷ θανάτῳ τῶν τελευτηκότων, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῆς ἀρετῆς ἧς καταλειποῦσιν. οἱ γὰρ θρήνων ἀξία πεπόνησαν, ἀλλ' ἐπαίνων μεγάλων πεποιήκασι. εἰ δὲ γήρως θνητοὶ μὴ μετέχον, ἀλλ' εὐδοξίαν ἀγήρατον εἰλήφασιν, εὐδαίμονές τε γηρόναι κατὰ πάντα. ὅσοι μὲν γὰρ αὐτῶν¹⁰ ἀπαίδες τελευτήκασι, οἱ ὥσθι τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἔπαμνοι παῖδες αὐτῶν ἀθάνατοι ἔσονται· ὅσοι δὲ παῖδας καταλειποῦσιν, ἡ τῆς πατρὸς εὐνοία ὀκτίστροπος αὐτοῖς τῶν παίδων καταστήσεια. πατρὸς δὲ τέτοις, εἰ μὲν ὅτι τὸ σπουδάζειν ὅμοιον τῷ μὴ γινέσθαι, ἀπηλλαγμένοι εἰσὶ νόσων καὶ λύπης, καὶ τῶν ἄλλων τῶν παρὰ τὴν φύσιν εἰς τὸν ἀνθρώπινον βίον. εἰ δ' ἔστιν αἵσθησις ἐν αἵματι καὶ ὀπιμέλεια ὥσθι τῷ δαιμονίου, ὥσπερ ὑπολαμβάνομεν, εἴη τῆς πατρὸς τιμαῖς τῶν Θεῶν καταλυομένης βοηθήσαντα· πλείστης εὐδαιμονίας ὑπὸ τῷ δαιμονίῳ τυγχάνειν.

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NOTES
AND
OBSERVATIONS
upon the foregoing
ORATIONS.

NOTES

AND

QUESTIONS

upon the following

QUESTIONS

INTRODUCTION.

IT may be proper to acquaint the young Reader that the three Orations here reprinted were spoken, or supposed to be spoken, at *Athens*, and made part of a noble and useful solemnity, instituted in honour of those who lost their lives in the service of their Country. *Thucydides* has given a particular account of the solemnity, which I have therefore prefix'd by way of Argument to the Whole.

The *first* Oration is taken out of the second Book of *Thucydides*: It was spoken by *Pericles* at the time of his having the administration of the *Athenian* affairs under his direction, at the close of the first campaign of a long and bloody war, wherein all *Greece* and its neighbouring States were engaged, under the *Athenians* on the one side and the *Lacedaemonians* on the other: It contains a Panegyrick upon the *Athenian* people and government: The character to which that of the *Athenians* is put in contrast is intended for the *Lacedaemonians*. As it is not to be dissembled that the Orator does now and then deviate a little from truth in his reflections in order to flatter his Countrymen, so neither is it to be wonder'd that a speaker in *Pericles's* circumstances, before a popular audience, should take this method to enflame their passions of hatred and contempt towards a dangerous rival in power and glory. Make but some allowance in this point, and, I think, no one can help being entertained and improved by the manly and generous sentiments which he inculcates.

The *second* and *third* Orations are to the same purpose; they contain moreover a sketch of the *Athenian* History regularly deduc'd, 'till within about 52 years of the death of *Philip* of *Macedon*; by whom the fatal stroke was given to the Liberties of *Greece*.

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From the perusal of them a young Reader may do well to take occasion to form to himself a distinct notion of the *Grecian* History; I mean, as to the order of its principal transactions: For his assistance wherein I have given a Chronological Table of the principal matters in the *Grecian* History; those which are touch'd upon in the foregoing Orations are mark'd with *Asterisks*. And inasmuch as there are in each of these Orations frequent references to some piece of History or Custom couch'd in single words, I have all along endeavoured to illustrate them by extracts from *English* Writers; viz. in the History, chiefly from Mr *Stanyan's* elegant Book upon that subject; as also from Mr *Hind*, Dr *Prideaux*, and Mons. *Rollin*: in the Customs, from Arch-Bp *Potter's* *Archæologia Græca*. In the four last of these Books the Reader may find numerous references to antient Writers cited at the bottom of each page in support of the several particulars; from whence it would have been easy for me to have borrowed them, and introduced them into the notes. But instead of that, or at least to render such references more useful to the young Reader when they fall in his way, it may be proper to apprise him thus much concerning the *Grecian* History and the principal Writers of it.

The accounts of the first ages of the *Grecian* History are represented with a mixture of so much fable, as to afford more subject for the extravagancies of Poets, than for the gravity of Historians.

Apollodorus, an *Athenian*, who flourish'd *ante Chr.* 138. has left three books of his *Bibliotheca*, which contain a general view of the fabulous traditions relating to the *Athenian* Gods and Heroes before the *Trojan* war. *Paris.* 1675.

Herodotus is the most antient of the *Greek*, and indeed of all Writers of profane History, now extant. He lived about 456 years before *Christ*. His History is contained in 9 Books, intitl'd by the names of the nine *Muses*. Besides a narrative of the wars of the *Grecians* and *Barbarians*, he intermixes by way of digression, and that very largely, several curious

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accounts of Antiquities, both *Grecian*, *Assyrian*, and *Egyptian*. He says but little of the antient state of *Greece*, and that is to be found chiefly in B. 1. c. 56 &c. and B. 5. c. 58 &c. The part of his History referr'd to in the Orations of *Plato* and *Lyfias* are to be met with in B. 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9. viz. from *Darius's* expedition into *Scythia*, to the victory obtained over the *Persians* at *Mycale* by *Cimon*.

Thucydides was contemporary with, but about 20 years younger than *Herodotus*. His History is comprized in 8 Books. The beginning of his first Book, viz. c. 2 -- 19. is a sort of Introduction to his History, giving a sketch of the antient state of *Greece*; the remainder of it contains the several transactions which gave immediate occasion to the *Peloponnesian* war, which continued between 27 and 28 years. The 7 last books of *Thucydides* comprehend almost 21 years of that time, and end about 411 years before *Christ*.

Xenophon's Grecian History is contain'd in 7 Books, and includes the space of almost 50 years, beginning where *Thucydides* left off, viz. in the latter end of the 21st year of the *Peloponnesian* war. --- The facts referr'd to in the foregoing Orations are to be met with in the 5 first Books.

Diodorus Siculus lived in the time of *Augustus Caesar*. His History is a large and laborious collection of Facts: it is now imperfect. He wrote it in 40 Books. The 5 first are still remaining, and contain an account of the *Egyptian*, *Assyrian*, *Libyan*, *Grecian* affairs before the *Trojan* war. --- The 6, 7, 8, 9 and 10. are wanting. From the 11th to the end of the 20th, the work is intire: It begins with the account of *Xerxes's* expedition into *Greece*, and goes down to the year 354 before *Christ*. --- The last 20 Books which carried the History on to the times of *Julius Caesar* are lost. The parts, which may serve to illustrate the foregoing Orations, are B. 4, 11, 12, 13, 14.

Cornelius Nepos may be consulted for his account of the several Commanders, who were principally concerned in the *Grecian* Affairs; and also *Plutarch*, who has preserved many rich and uncommon gleanings from Books of antient History which are now lost: -- particularly his *Lives of Themistocles,*

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mistocles, *Aristides*, *Pausanias*, *Cimon* and *Pericles*, may illustrate part of *Herodotus*, and the first Book of *Thucydides*; those of *Alcibiades*, *Chabrias*, *Thrasybulus*, and *Nicias*, the other Books: with *Xenophon* may be read the lives of *Lysander*, *Agésilas*, *Artaxerxes*, *Thrasybulus*, *Chabrias*, and *Conon*.

Of *Modern Books in English*, which have given judicious draughts of the *Grecian History*, the principal are,

Sir *Walter Raleigh* in his *History of the World*, B. II. c. 13. §. 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8. -- c. 14. §. 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6. -- c. 16. §. 6, 7. -- c. 17. §. 10. -- c. 18. §. 6. -- c. 23. §. 5. -- c. 27. §. 6. B. III. c. 5. §. 6, 7, 8. -- c. 6. §. 1, &c. -- c. 7. §. 1, &c. -- c. 8. §. 1, &c. B. V. c. 1. §. 2. B. III. c. 8. §. 9, 10, 11, 12. -- c. 9. §. 1, &c. -- c. 10. §. 1, &c. -- c. 11. 1 -- 9, thence to the end of the first c. of B. IV. the History goes on to the death of *Philip of Macedon* &c.

Mr *Hind* has carried the *Grecian* history down to the beginning of the *Peloponnesian* war.

Mr *Stanyan* --- to the death of *Philip*.

Mr *Rollin* in his *Antient* history includes the whole account of the *Grecian* affairs, 'till their power was intirely sunk in that of the *Romans*.

Dr *Prideaux* in his *Connection of the History of the Old and New Testament* was led to treat concerning the *Grecian* affairs, by the relation they bear to those of *Persia*.

The principal author who has preserved the notices of *Grecian* Antiquities is *Pausanias*, by birth a *Cappadocian*, who died at *Rome*, as it is supposed, about the year of *Christ* 180. He was a great Traveller and was curious in collecting, all along as he went, accounts of persons, places and buildings.

I may add *Johannes Tzetzes*, who flourish'd at *Constantinople* about *A. D.* 1170. His comment upon *Lycophron*, under the name of his brother *Isaac*, is a curious repository of antient learning.

The same may be said of several of the other *Scholiasts*, particularly upon *Aristophanes*.

Johannes Meursius, Professor of History at *Leyden*, died *A. D.* 1639. He was a very large collector out of different

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Authors of such passages as relate to the *Grecian* History and Antiquities, which he has common-placed under proper heads.

I must not omit to mention so considerable writers in this branch of learning as, *Ubbo Emmius*, *Vetus Græcia* &c.

Car. Sigonius de Republicâ Atheniensium, &

Sam. Petitus in his treatise de *Legibus Atticis*. --- But the perusal of either of these Authors is rendered less necessary to the young Reader by that full and methodical account, which is given of all parts of the *Grecian* Antiquities in the *Archæologia Græca* of Arch-Bp Potter.

For an account of the *Athenian* Government may be consulted *Xenophon de Atheniensium repub.* *Plutarchus in Solone.* Rollin B. 5. Art. 8. and B. 10. c. 1. Art. 2. *Stanyan* V. 1. p. 174, &c.

--- of the *Lacedæmonian* Government, *Xenophon de Lacedæmon. repub.* *Plutarchus in Lycurgo.* -- in *Lacon. Instit.* Rollin B. 5. Art. 7. and B. 10. c. 1. Art. 1. *Stanyan* V. 1. p. 73, &c.

The fragment of *Hyperides*, preserv'd by *Stobæus*, compleats all the genuine remains of *Grecian* Eloquence upon the *Slain in Battle*. For the funeral Oration under the name of *Demosthenes* is adjudged to be spurious. (See Dr Taylor's Lect. Lyfiac. p. 681.)

The *Greek* Epigrams are intended as specimens of Inscriptions in honour of military men among the Antients. That which is printed at the beginning was inscribed upon the Tomb of those *Athenians* who were slain in the battle of *Charonæa*, and is preserv'd by *Demosthenes* in his Oration *de i. Σηφ.* §. 89. Those at the End were inscribed on Monuments erected in honour of those who fell in the famous action at *Thermopyla*: The three first of them preserved by *Herodotus*, B. 7. c. 228. the last by *Diodorus Siculus*, B. 11. §. 26.

I have this further to add, that I adventured upon this publication, thinking, that, if (as was usual at the first revival of Learning) detach'd pieces of *Classick* Authors were occasionally thrown out in small portions, it might be of service to young People.

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It is with a view to this sort of Readers that I have endeavoured to illustrate the Text with Notes, and not with the least design of putting in a claim to any share of that praise which is due to Editors of a higher class; whereof our Country hath of late produced some noble instances; and to one of which this Edition is particularly obliged, that the Oration of *Lyfias* is much less incorrect than it must have been otherwise.

Concerning the *Historical* Notes, I have already given some account; and shall only repeat, that they are designed for the use of those who are not well acquainted with the Elements of the *Grecian* Antiquities and History: They are taken from approved Writers, that are much better judges in those affairs than I pretend to be; and this, as well as my desire to consult the ease of the Reader, must be my Apology for compiling, in most instances, rather from Them than from the Original Authors. --- I desire that the same consideration may be extended to the *Chronological* Table, which is mainly drawn out according to the order observed in that useful book of Dr *E. Simson*, entitled *Chronicon Catholicum*.

As to the *Grammatical* explanations, I have spared myself the pains of amassing together parallel expressions from other *Greek* Writers; because they are to be met with in most Lexicons, or in such books as may be supposed to be common in the hands of young Students in the *Greek* Language; particularly *Vigerus de Idiotismis Græcæ linguæ*, and *Lamb. Bos de Ellipsis*.

Oriel College Oxford.

Edward Bentham.

A Chronological Table.

Year of the World.

Year before Christ.

2244	F rom the first peopling of <i>Attica</i> till the time of <i>Ogyges</i> , we have no account of any thing that passed there. --- And of his times we know little more than that <i>Attica</i> was wasted so much by a deluge as not to recover itself for near 200 years.	1760
2448	<i>Cecrops</i> therefore we must look upon as the Founder of <i>Athens</i> . He was an <i>Egyptian</i> , and having married the daughter of <i>Atlas</i> King of <i>Attica</i> , built the City, which was afterwards the Citadel, calling it <i>Cecropia</i> . He introduced a Form and Ceremonial of Religion into the Country. The number of Kings in <i>Attica</i> is reckon'd to be 17; they reign'd in all 487 years. Of these the most remarkable were <i>Amphictyon</i> the son of <i>Deucalion</i> , who having married the daughter of <i>Cranus</i> King of <i>Attica</i> , deposed him and usurp'd his throne; and was 10 or 12 years after himself deposed by <i>Erichonius</i> , a foreigner, who introduc'd the use of silver money. <i>Pandion</i> , his son, was the first king who held the throne in right of succession.	1556
2608	* <i>Erectheus</i> succeeded <i>Pandion</i> . He had war with the <i>Eleusinians</i> , who were assisted by <i>Eumolpus</i> king of <i>Thrace</i> . <i>Cecrops</i> II. gathered the people of <i>Attica</i> into twelve burroughs: to him succeeded <i>Pandion</i> II. and to him <i>Aegeus</i> . He was succeeded by * <i>Theseus</i> , who new modell'd the State, and brought the inhabitants of <i>Attica</i> into one City, which he named <i>Athens</i> . In his time happen'd the <i>Theban</i> , and the <i>Amazonian</i> war.	1396
2781	* <i>Theseus</i> , who new modell'd the State, and brought the inhabitants of <i>Attica</i> into one City, which he named <i>Athens</i> . In his time happen'd the <i>Theban</i> , and the <i>Amazonian</i> war.	1223
2785		1219
2797		1207
2788	* <i>Hercules</i> dies.	1216
2801	* <i>Eurystheus</i> is slain.	1203
2821	The <i>Trojan</i> war ended.	1183

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A Chronological Table.

Year of the World.

Year before Christ.

2900	* The <i>Heracidae</i> by means of the <i>Athenians</i> recover possession of <i>Peloponnesus</i> .	1104
2934	* They invade <i>Attica</i> ; <i>Codrus</i> king of <i>Athens</i> throws away his life for the welfare of his country.	1070
2936	After which the supreme Magistrate in <i>Athens</i> was no longer called <i>King</i> , but <i>Archon</i> . <i>Medon</i> , the son of <i>Codrus</i> was the first of this title. There were 13 of them in succession during 312 years.	1068
2960	* The <i>Athenians</i> send out large Colonies on the maritime coasts of <i>Asia minor</i> .	1044
3060	<i>Hesiod</i> flourishes.	944
3093	<i>Homer</i> dies.	911
3122	<i>Lycurgus</i> gives Laws to the <i>Lacedamonians</i> .	882
3228	The vulgar <i>Æra</i> of the <i>Olympiads</i> . (But N. B. this was really the 1st year of the 28th Olympiad, or 108 years after the restitution of the Olympian Games by <i>Iphitus</i> .)	776
3248	The <i>Athenians</i> reduce the administration of the <i>Archons</i> to a <i>decennial</i> office. --- Of those, who bore it, there were seven. The first named <i>Charops</i> , the last <i>Eryxias</i> .	756
3318	The office of <i>Archon</i> is reduced to an <i>annual</i> office, executed by nine persons; one of them bearing the Title: The first who bore it was <i>Creon</i> .	686
3381	<i>Draco</i> prescribes his Laws, remarkable for their severity.	623
3411	* <i>Solon</i> undertakes to reform the State and the Laws.	593
3432	<i>Anacreon</i> flourishes.	572
3441	<i>Æsop</i> put to death at <i>Delphi</i> .	563
3444	<i>Pisistratus</i> takes advantage of the factions into which the state of <i>Athens</i> was divided, and seizes the Government; which he did not get quiet possession of 'till sixteen years afterwards; He held it 17 years by himself; as his sons did 18 more after him.	560
3456	* <i>Cyrus</i> brings all <i>Asia minor</i> under his Dominion, having been called out of <i>Persia</i> by his uncle <i>Cyaxares</i> king of <i>Media</i> to assist him against the <i>Babylonians</i> .	548
3460	* --- subdues <i>Syria</i> , <i>Palestine</i> , and <i>Arabia</i> .	544
3462	* --- marches into upper <i>Asia</i> , and reduces it.	542

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Year of the World.

Year before Christ.

3465	* --- returns into <i>Assyria</i> , and takes <i>Babylon</i> : then placing his uncle <i>Cyaxares</i> (call'd in Scripture <i>Darius the Mede</i>) on the throne of <i>Babylon</i> , he makes an expedition into <i>Syria</i> .	539
3467	* <i>Cyaxares</i> dies; and <i>Cyrus</i> succeeds in the whole Empire.	537
3475	* <i>Cyrus</i> dies; and is succeeded by his son <i>Cambyfes</i> .	529
3478	* <i>Cambyfes</i> invades <i>Egypt</i> ; and conquers the whole Kingdom.	526
3467	<i>Æschylus</i> the Poet born.	537
3480	* <i>Cambyfes</i> makes an expedition against the <i>Æthiopians</i> , and returns with loss.	524
3482	--- dies. --- The <i>Magians</i> seize the Kingdom.	522
	* <i>Hipparchus</i> , who succeeded his father <i>Pisistratus</i> in the Tyranny of <i>Athens</i> , is slain by <i>Harmodius</i> and <i>Aristogiton</i> : and is succeeded therein by his brother <i>Hippias</i> .	
3483	* The <i>Magians</i> are slain; and <i>Darius</i> son of <i>Hystaspes</i> is chosen king of <i>Persia</i> .	521
3484	<i>Pindar</i> born.	520
3491	* <i>Darius</i> invades <i>Scythia</i> ; and loses half his army: but subdues <i>Thrace</i> .	513
3494	The <i>Scythians</i> ravage <i>Thrace</i> , and drive <i>Miltiades</i> out of the <i>Chersonesus</i> .	510
3495	* <i>Hippias</i> is driven from <i>Athens</i> .	509
3498	* <i>Darius</i> sends a fleet down the <i>Indus</i> to discover <i>India</i> ; which he afterwards invades and conquers.	506
3501	* The <i>Persians</i> under the command of <i>Aristagoras</i> of <i>Miletus</i> make a fruitless attempt upon <i>Naxos</i> .	503
	The <i>Ionians</i> revolt from <i>Darius</i> .	
3503	* The <i>Athenians</i> enter into a Confederacy with the <i>Ionians</i> against <i>Darius</i> ; and the next year equip a fleet of 20 sail in conjunction with 5 Gallies of <i>Eretria</i> ; and burn <i>Sardes</i> .	501
3510	<i>Sophocles</i> is born.	494
	The <i>Persians</i> reduce the revolters in <i>Ionia</i> .	
3509	They reduce the <i>Hellepont</i> and parts thereabouts, and force <i>Miltiades</i> to flee from thence to <i>Athens</i> .	495
3510	* <i>Mardonius</i> is sent by <i>Darius</i> to make war against <i>Greece</i> , but miscarries in the expedition.	494

Year of the World.

Year before Christ.

3511	* <i>Darius</i> continues his preparations against <i>Greece</i> ; and sends a large force under <i>Datis</i> and <i>Artaphernes</i> , who possess themselves of the <i>Cyclades</i> , and storm <i>Eretria</i> .	493
3513	* They invade <i>Attica</i> , but are defeated at <i>Marathon</i> . * <i>Miltiades</i> is sent to chastise the Islands, which sided with the <i>Persians</i> . * <i>Darius</i> resolves to invade <i>Greece</i> in person; but dying leaves the prosecution of the war to his son and successor <i>Xerxes</i> .	491
3519	<i>Euripides</i> born.	485
3520	<i>Herodotus</i> the Historian born.	484
3524	* <i>Xerxes</i> passes the <i>Hellepont</i> , and marches into <i>Greece</i> : is opposed at <i>Thermopylae</i> : but at length forces his passage, and wastes <i>Attica</i> with fire and sword. --- His numerous fleet receives a defeat from the confederate fleet of <i>Greece</i> at <i>Salamis</i> under <i>Themistocles</i> : --- as afterwards did his Land-army near <i>Plataea</i> . ---	480
3525	In <i>Ionia</i> the <i>Persian</i> forces are defeated by those of <i>Greece</i> , on the very same day on which the battle was fought at <i>Plataea</i> , near <i>Mycalè</i> by land; and afterwards at <i>Ægos-potamos</i> by sea.	479
3526	* The <i>Athenians</i> reconvey their families from <i>Salamis</i> into <i>Attica</i> , and rebuild their walls, and fortify their harbour of <i>Piræus</i> .	478
3527	* The <i>Lacedæmonians</i> and <i>Athenians</i> jointly pursue the war against the <i>Persians</i> . * The <i>Ionians</i> having revolted from the <i>Persians</i> put themselves under the protection of the <i>Athenians</i> .	477
3534	* <i>Cimon</i> scours the <i>Asiatick</i> seas, and defeats the <i>Persian</i> fleet at the mouth of the river <i>Eurymedon</i> : and the same day landing his men routs their Land-army; and afterwards makes many other conquests on the <i>Hellepont</i> .	470
3535	* The <i>Athenians</i> employ part of their fleet in the service of <i>Inarus</i> king of <i>Libya</i> , who had drawn <i>Egypt</i> to revolt against the king of <i>Persia</i> : --- at first they proceed with success; but the next year are harassed and driven out of <i>Egypt</i> .	469
3541	<i>Xerxes</i> king of <i>Persia</i> dies, and is succeeded by <i>Artaxerxes Longimanus</i> .	463

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Year before Christ.

3546	<i>Lyfias</i> born.	458
3547	* The <i>Athenians</i> have frequent skirmishes with the <i>Corinthians</i> and <i>Æginetans</i> ; under <i>Myronides</i> they intirely defeat the <i>Corinthians</i> . * They engage with the <i>Lacedæmonians</i> near <i>Tanagra</i> , and are worsted: --- but soon after return the blow at a place called the <i>Oenophyta</i> or Vineyards. * They likewise subdue <i>Ægina</i> , and render it tributary.	457
3548	* Under <i>Tolmides</i> they harass the coasts of <i>Laconia</i> and <i>Corinth</i> .	456
3549	* <i>Cimon</i> , after a banishment of five years, is recalled home, and makes up a peace with the <i>Lacedæmonians</i> .	455
3551	* The <i>Athenians</i> send <i>Cimon</i> with a great fleet to <i>Cyprus</i> , where he engages the <i>Persian</i> forces, both by sea and land with great success; and dies.	453
3555	<i>Herodotus</i> publickly recites his history.	449
3556	* The <i>Athenians</i> under the conduct of <i>Pericles</i> subdue the <i>Samians</i> .	448
3563	* The <i>Peloponnesian</i> war begins. --- The <i>Peloponnesian</i> confederates invade <i>Attica</i> . --- The <i>Athenians</i> exert themselves chiefly at sea against the coasts of <i>Peloponnesus</i> , with success. --- and after the return of the <i>Peloponnesians</i> out of <i>Attica</i> invade <i>Megaris</i> . <i>Pericles</i> speaks his funeral Oration. --- dies.	441
3564	<i>Plato</i> born.	440
3573	* <i>Lesbus</i> revolts from the <i>Athenians</i> --- The <i>Athenians</i> recover it by besieging <i>Mitylene</i> ; seize their shipping, raze their walls and confiscate the estates of the revolters. The <i>Lacedæmonians</i> make reprisals upon the inhabitants of <i>Plataea</i> . * The <i>Athenians</i> engage on the side of the <i>Leontines</i> in their quarrel against <i>Syracuse</i> .	431
3576	* They seize <i>Pylus</i> in <i>Laconia</i> , and distress the <i>Lacedæmonians</i> in the island <i>Sphaacteria</i> . <i>Aristophanes</i> flourishes.	428
3577	<i>Brasidas</i> gives a successful turn to the <i>Lacedæmonian</i> affairs. --- They and the <i>Athenians</i> come to terms; but the rest of the <i>Peloponnesian</i> confederates being disgusted therewith,	427
3578	the quarrel is renew'd.	426
3580		424
3583		421
3586		418
	* The	

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Year before Christ.

3590	* The <i>Athenians</i> , by the advice of <i>Alcibiades</i> , undertake an expedition against <i>Syracuse</i> .	414
3592	They are defeated and pursu'd with great slaughter.	412
	* The <i>Lacedæmonians</i> conclude a league with the king of <i>Persia</i> , which is follow'd by the revolt of the principal cities of <i>Ionia</i> from <i>Athens</i> .	
3593	* Several places on the <i>Hellepont</i> likewise revolt; but are soon reduced to their obedience.	411
3594	* The <i>Athenians</i> , in order to carry on their military affairs with more dispatch in those distressing times, consent to alter the Constitution of their Government, and place it in the hands of 400, who abuse their power in acts of tyranny and oppression. This is follow'd by various factions and tumults in the City, and by the revolt of <i>Eubæa</i> .	410
	* The <i>Lacedæmonians</i> take an advantage of these difficulties. But the <i>Athenians</i> recovering from their disorder and consternation, fit out a fleet under <i>Thrasyllus</i> and <i>Thrasybulus</i> , and defeat the <i>Lacedæmonians</i> in three several sea-engagements, at <i>Cynossema</i> , <i>Abydus</i> and <i>Cyzicus</i> .	
3596		408
3598	A fleet is sent out under <i>Alcibiades</i> ; which being defeated by <i>Lyfander</i> in his absence from it, he falls into disgrace.	406
	* <i>Conon</i> in commission with 9 others succeeds him in his command, and defeats <i>Callicratidas</i> the <i>Lacedæmonian</i> at <i>Arginussæ</i> .	
3599		405
3600	* <i>Lyfander</i> taking advantage of <i>Conon's</i> absence, entirely defeats the <i>Athenian</i> fleet at <i>Ægos-potamos</i> ; and soon after marches to <i>Athens</i> , and besieges it, and reduces it to a surrender: demolishes their fortifications, establishes an <i>Oligarchical</i> government of 30 persons; commonly known by the name of the 30 <i>Tyrants</i> .	404
3601	<i>Theramenes</i> exerts himself in opposition to the <i>Tyrants</i> ; but is put to death.	403
3603	* <i>Thrasybulus</i> raises a party against them, and at length effects the restoration of the Democracy.	401
3605	<i>Socrates</i> is put to death.	399
		* The

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3607	* The <i>Lacedæmonians</i> quarrel with the <i>Eleans</i> for siding with the <i>Athenians</i> against them.	397
3609	* <i>Agésilas</i> makes a successful expedition into <i>Asia</i> against the <i>Persians</i> .	395
3610	* The <i>Persians</i> , in order to divert the <i>Lacedæmonians</i> from pursuing their conquests in <i>Asia</i> , spirit up a Confederacy of <i>Thebans</i> , <i>Argives</i> and <i>Corinthians</i> , and, at length, the <i>Athenians</i> against the <i>Lacedæmonians</i> . --- The	394
3611	<i>Lacedæmonians</i> gain two Victories over the Confederates by land, one near <i>Sicyon</i> not far from <i>Corinth</i> ; and the other under <i>Agésilas</i> near <i>Coronea</i> in <i>Bæotia</i> . --- But <i>Conon</i> at the head of the <i>Persian</i> fleet defeats them by sea near <i>Cnidus</i> .	393
3612	* Some of the <i>Corinthians</i> inclining to peace with the <i>Lacedæmonians</i> , civil dissensions issue, with mutinies and massacres. --- <i>Agésilas</i> and <i>Teutias</i> for a time carry all before them on the side of the <i>Lacedæmonians</i> ; but <i>Iphicrates</i> , the <i>Athenian</i> General, defeating the <i>Lacedæmonian</i> forces at <i>Lechæus</i> , recovers the ground that had been lost.	392
	* At this time the Cities of <i>Asia</i> , under the <i>Lacedæmonian</i> jurisdiction, expell the <i>Lacedæmonian</i> Governours.	
3613	<i>Pharnabazus</i> and <i>Conon</i> make a descent on the coasts of <i>Laconia</i> and ravage them. --- <i>Conon</i> afterwards sails to <i>Athens</i> , repairs the Haven of <i>Piræus</i> , and rebuilds the walls.	391
3614	* The <i>Lacedæmonians</i> finding the war at their own doors, and the <i>Athenians</i> likely to reap the advantage of it, send <i>Antalcidas</i> to treat with the <i>Persians</i> about a Peace; offering to give up the <i>Grecian</i> Cities in <i>Asia</i> . --- The <i>Athenians</i> and their Allies taking the Alarm endeavour to counteract their designs: The <i>Persians</i> play them one against the other.	390
3615	<i>Thrasybulus</i> is kill'd in his expedition to <i>Rhodes</i> ; after having reduced several places in the <i>Hellepont</i> &c. for the security whereof <i>Iphicrates</i> is sent out by the <i>Athenians</i> with a considerable force.	389
3616	<i>Chabrias</i> subdues the <i>Æginetans</i> : and is sent to the assistance of <i>Evagoras</i> K. of <i>Cyprus</i> . ---	388
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	The <i>Lacedæmonians</i> make their advantage of his absence, and surprise and sink several of the <i>Athenian</i> ships in their harbour.	
3618	* By this time the <i>Lacedæmonians</i> and <i>Athenians</i> were so far tired with harassing each other, that they acquiesced in a peace upon the following terms, that "All the cities of <i>Asia</i> with the islands of <i>Clazomena</i> should be under the jurisdiction of <i>Persia</i> : That the islands of <i>Lemnus</i> , <i>Imbrus</i> and <i>Scirus</i> , as having time immemorial been subject to <i>Athens</i> , should continue so; and that all other Cities of <i>Greece</i> should be free."	386
	The <i>Lacedæmonians</i> , under the notion of Guarantees of the Peace, behave insolently towards several States who had taken part against them in the late wars.	
3621	(<i>Aristotle</i> born.)	383
3623	They seize the Citadel of <i>Thebes</i> , which they held four years, and with it the Dominion over <i>Bæotia</i> ; but were then dispossessed by the bravery of <i>Pelopidas</i> .	381
3624	(<i>Demosthenes</i> born.)	380
	The <i>Athenians</i> are exasperated against the <i>Lacedæmonians</i> for their having laid a design to surprise the <i>Piræus</i> ; they enter into a confederacy with the <i>Thebans</i> , and send <i>Chabrias</i> to traverse the designs of <i>Agésilæus</i> in <i>Bæotia</i> , in which he succeeds by keeping upon the defensive: --- and afterwards defeats the <i>Lacedæmonians</i> by sea: as did the next year	
3632		372
3633	<i>Timotheus</i> the son of <i>Conon</i> .	371
	The <i>Thebans</i> take advantage thereof, and drive the <i>Lacedæmonians</i> out of <i>Bæotia</i> ; and joining with the <i>Athenians</i> restore several cities of <i>Greece</i> , particularly in <i>Peloponnesus</i> , to their independency.	
	The <i>Athenians</i> grow jealous of the <i>Theban</i> power, and propose a general accommodation. But disputes arising, the <i>Thebans</i> are excluded; and the <i>Lacedæmonians</i> left at liberty to turn their whole force upon them.	
3634	An engagement insues near <i>Leuctra</i> , in which the <i>Lacedæmonians</i> are routed by the conduct of the <i>Theban</i> General <i>Epaminondas</i> .	370
3637	The <i>Thebans</i> , upon the credit of this victory,	367

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	Story, draw several other lesser States into their alliance, and carry their arms into Peloponnesus against the Lacedæmonians.	
3638	The Athenians oppose a second attempt of Epaminondas to enter Peloponnesus: He forces the pass of the Isthmus; but is soon after driven back by Chabrias the Athenian General.	366
	The Thebans are again call'd into Peloponnesus, by a party of the Arcadians. --- The Athenians and Lacedæmonians oppose them with their united forces, but lose the victory in a general engagement near Mantinea.	
3642	Epaminondas the Theban General is slain, and with him sinks the Theban power and greatness.	362
	A general peace throughout Greece.	
3643	Agésilas K. of Lacedæmon dies.	361
3645	Xenophon dies. --- Philip is declared K. of Macedon. --- defeats the Athenians at Methone, and seizes Amphipolis, Pydna and Potidea.	359
3646	The Athenians reduce Eubæa. --- Chabrias is kill'd.	358
3647	Alexander the Great is born.	357
3649	The Phocian or sacred war breaks out.	355
3648	Plato dies.	356
3657	The Phocian war ended by Philip's interposition.	347
3659	Philip defeats the Athenians at Charonea.	345
3667	--- is killed.	337
3669		335

NOTES

UPON

THUCYDIDES.

B. II. §. 34.

THE Character given of *Thucydides* by *Cicero de Orat.*
L. 2. §. 56. is this,

“*Thucydides omnes dicendi artificio, mea sententia, facile
vicit: qui ita creber est rerum frequentia, ut verborum prope
numerus sententiarum numero consequatur; ita porro verbis
aptus & pressus, ut nescias, utrum res oratione, an verba sen-
tentiis illustrentur.*”

Tho’ one cannot think of shewing the truth of this character of *Thucydides* from so small a specimen of his History as is here reprinted, yet it may be proper to apply the observations therein contain’d, if for no other reason than to apologize for some of the following notes.

I. The Reader must not mistake the *dicendi artificio*, which *Cicero* so justly admires in *Thucydides*, for Grammatical accuracy: for there is scarce any antient writer, who has more deviations from what we should apprehend to be regular Syntax, such are the many Elliptical, others Pleonastick expressions; Transitions from one number to another; Substitutions of one tense for another; participles for verbs; one case for another, &c. all which, tho’ they are more or less to be met with in every *Attick* writer, certainly are anomalies, and (however called *Atticisms* by Grammarians) are not the *Atticisms* * which we ought to admire and imitate; tho’ I confess that this set of Authors shew so much of their *artificium dicendi*, that any attempt to correct those irregularities by presenting a sentence in its true Grammatical order, is apt to injure the beauty of the composition, and lower its spirit. --- My intention therefore in marking out these deviations is not to insinuate that *Thucydides* ought to have wrote otherwise, but to serve the purpose of mere explanation.

* See *Cicero de opt. gen. Orat.*

II. If it be true, that this Author *verborum prope numerum sententiarum numero consequitur*, it will shew that in rendering his meaning into any other Language, there is almost a necessity to use many more words than what occur in the original.

III. If his *verba sententiis illustrentur*, it will apprise the Reader not to think of hurrying on thro' an Author that is so very much crowded with sentiment: He must exercise a good deal of thought about the subject-matter of which he is reading, in order to come at the full meaning of the expressions: which still adds to the difficulty of translating *Thucydides*, and shews why translations of him are apt to fall short of the sense, as well as spirit, of the original. This is particularly the case of some ambiguous expressions; but this very ambiguity adds lustre to the composition, inasmuch as each of the senses, which the words are capable of bearing are manifestly to the purpose, and consequently might have been intended by the Writer.

I I Εν τῇ αὐτῇ χειμῶνι] In the very same winter, viz. that which followed the first campaign of the Peloponnesian war.

2 δημοσίᾳ] viz. γνώμῃ, in pursuance of a resolution taken by the Publick.

4 τὰ μὲν ὀστέα] viz. the bones and ashes which remained after burning the bodies; which was the general custom of the Athenians (*Archæol.* v. 2. p. 207.) and appears from *Thucyd.* B.II. to have obtained at this time, and indeed otherwise it is inconceivable how this solemnity could have been performed.

ib. ἀνέδιδοντο] When persons died among their friends, who were ready at hand to perform their last offices, this order was inverted; the corpse was first wash'd, anointed and properly bedeck'd, and last of all laid out and exposed to publick view. *Archæol.* v. 2. p. 184.

ib. ἀνέστειλε· ἀνέστειλε τῆς ἡμέρας τῆς ἀναρμυδῆς· ἢ ἐν τῇ ἡμέρᾳ. Sch.

5 ἐνφίετο] There was scarce any thing wherein the Antients in most nations, and particularly among the Grecians, were more solicitous than to give ample testimony of their respect to deceased persons by funeral solemnities; and, previously thereunto, by the use of such Ceremonies, as anointing the corpse, adorning it with splendid cloaths, chaplets of flowers, ribbands, &c. and afterwards, when the corpse had been burnt, by washing the bones with wine. (*Archæol.* v. 2. p. 178. &c. and p. 218 &c.)

- I 5 τῇ αὐτῇ, viz. πατρὶ, or φίλῳ or ἱπῷ.
 6 ἐκφορᾷ] This word and ἐκταμιδὴ are words appropriated to funerals, to denote the carrying the corpse forth. (*Archæol.* v. 2. p. 189.)
 ib. κυπαρισσίας] *made of Cypress*; this being a wood of all others supposed least liable to decay.
 7 φυλῆς.] The number of Tribes at *Athens* at first was 4, at this time, 10. Afterwards under the *Macedonian* Government, 12. (*Archæol.* v. 1. p. 49 &c.)
 ib. ἔνθα δὲ καὶ] *καὶ* is redundant; inasmuch as there does not appear to have been any thing in the Coffers besides the bones.
 8 ἐπαιρῖν] *with a carpet thrown over it*.
 9 ἵς ἡναιρίσιν] *to have their bodies taken up, and brought home*.
 11 αἱ ἀσσημέναι] *Solon* wholly excluded all women under 60 years of age from bearing part in funeral solemnities; tho' Relations under that age seem to have been admitted. (*Archæol.* v. 2. p. 192.)
 ib. ὀλοφρομένη.] The ὀλοφρομένη were properly songs sung at funeral processions, (*Archæol.* v. 2. p. 205) so called from the ejulations wherewith they were performed; and from thence the word may be used to comprehend the other most ordinary ways of expressing sorrow at funerals; of which see *Archæol.* v. 2. p. 195 &c.
 12 ἡ τὴν δημόσιον σήμη.] Among the primitive *Grecians*, every family was wont to have their proper burying place: Their graves were nothing but caverns dug in the earth; but those of later ages were more curiously wrought: they were commonly paved with stone, had arches built over them, and were adorned with no less art and care than the houses of the living. (*Archæol.* v. 2. p. 219.) The δημόσιον σήμη here mention'd does not seem to denote any particular monument that was called by that name, any further than as the *Ceramicus*, a publick suburb, was made use of for the purpose of burying such as had distinguished themselves in the service of their country; and in which place were several δημόσια σήμη or monuments erected by the Publick to the honour of great men, as may be seen in *Meursius's* piece intituled *Ceramicus*.
 ib. ὄρεάν.] That part of *Athens*, which was called the ὄρεάν, was really no other than the Citadel, at first call'd *Cecropia* from its builder *Cecrops*, seated upon the top of a high rock about three furlongs in length and one half in breadth, in the midst of a large and pleasant plain. Afterwards when the number of inhabitants

I was increased, the whole Plain was filled with buildings, which were called from their situation *ἡ κατὰ πόλιν* so that the word *κατὰ πόλιν* by no means carries so low an import as the word *suburb* commonly does in *English*.

13 *ῥηπύτοι τὰς ἐν τῶν παλίων*] The word *ῥηπύτοι* is to be supplied from the verb *ῥηπύσσει*; and so in the next line *τὰς ἐν Μαρμαρίῳ* --- You have the expression complete p. 3. l. 3.

15 *κεκοίμενοι*] viz. the persons who lived at *that* time. Members of a civil society considered in their collective capacity are spoke of as always the same; tho' the Individuals are different.

16 *ἱερὸς ἔσθ' ἡ πόλις*] The solemnity of a publick funeral was managed by a Committee of the Parents and Brethren and other Relations of the deceased; chosen by the publick assembly of the people for that purpose, and they regulated the Ceremonies, especially the entertainment afterwards. *Plato* places the election in the hands of the Senate of 500. p. 17. l. 12. They perhaps nominated, and the Commonalty approved. See *Demosth. de Coron.* §. 89. where he says, *ὁ Δῆμος ἐπεὶ ἐχειροτόνησε πρὸς ἐλαθύνειν* (very likely *πρὸς ἐβελῆν*), which perhaps may reconcile *Thucydides* with *Plato*.

17 *γνώμη μὴ ἀκύνει*] In *English*, *no fool*, i. e. *a man of very good sense*. Instances of this kind of *μείωσις* are frequent. So *Plat. ἐπιπαι.* p. 19. l. 10. *ἐπὶ πάντων φαύλη*, i. e. *εὐχρη*.

2 *ῥηπύτοι*] The word comprehends all the several previous acts as well as the principal one of *interment*.

3 *διὰ παντὸς τοῦ πολέμου*] Throughout the whole course of this war, of which *Thucydides* was writing. --- From *Plato* p. 47. l. 8. it seems that the Ceremony of a publick commemoration was then become anniversary, whether there was any war or no. See *Archæol.* v. 2. p. 227.

ib. *ὅποτε συμβαίνει αὐτοῖς*] viz. *ἐν δυσχερείᾳ*, when any accident or misfortune befell them.

4 *Περικλῆς ὁ πατριάρχης*] For his Character see *Rollin* V. 3. B. 7. c. 1. §. 7, 9 &c. *Stanyan* V. 1. 295, 2.

5 *ἐπειδὴ καιρὸς ἐλάμβανεν*] viz. *ὑπερῷον*. Some copies have it *καιρὸν ἐλάμβανεν*, he took the convenient time.

7 *ὡς ἐπιπλείων*] (viz. *μᾶλλον*) *ἢ ὅμιλον*, that as many might hear as possible. --- If *ἐκύνειτο* was used in a passive signification it should have been *ὑπὸ τοῦ ὅμιλου*.

3 *τὴν ἐκδοίαν τῇ νόμῳ*] Who to the institution of other funeral solemnities added this of a publick oration. Some refer
it

3

it to *Solon*; which account suits better with the expression p. 4. l. 10. *τῆς πύλας*, than *Diodorus Siculus's* or *Dion. Halicarnassensis's*, who place the original of it no higher than the *Persian* war: much less will that expression allow us to suppose *Pericles* himself to have been the introducer thereof immediately after the reduction of *Samos*.

3 *ὡς καλὸν*] viz. *παράγμεθ' ὅν*. (the Accusative absolute.) *as being an institution well contrived to do honour to the memories of such as are buried from the field of battle.*

6 *ἔργῳ* --- *οἷᾱ*] To make the construction compleat, *τίμῃ* is to be supplied. N. B. the transition from the singular to the plural: the plural *οἷᾱ* refers to the several particulars comprehended in the *ἔργῳ* or funeral solemnity.

7 *δημοσίᾳ*] viz. *γνώμῃ*; or rather *παρομοιωῇ*, implied in the participle *παρομοιωσάμενός τε*.

9 *ἔστι καὶ χεῖρον ἐπὶ πεινῆσι πισυῖναι*] viz. *τῷ* -- *πισυῖναι*. *by being intrusted to the management of a single Orator, be it good or bad: whereby the reputation of men who have given evidence of their bravery will certainly run some risk of being impaired.*

10 *χαλεπὸν γὰρ τὸ μετρίως ἐπεῖν*] *to observe the true μέτρον dicendi, which is Truth; or, to hit the true medium in speaking, and give general satisfaction.*

ib. *εἰ ᾧ*] Some refer it to *ἀκροατῇ*, i. e. *before a person in whom*: I should rather refer it to the *τὸ μετρίως ἐπεῖν*, viz. *in the doing which*; or else *on a subject, wherein the appearance of Truth can scarce be confirmed.*

4 1. *ὡς ᾧ καὶ ἡ δόκησις τῆς ἀληθείας μέγας βεβαιῶται*] *In doing which one can scarce answer or confirm the expectations with which the Hearers come prejudiced about the Truth.*

2 *ἑνωδῶς*] viz. *τῶν ἀρετῶν*. *The man who has been an eye-witness of their virtues, and in consequence thereof is become ὡς prejudiced in their favour.*

3 *ὥς ἂν βέλτερά τι καὶ ἐπίσταται*] *In comparison of what he wishes to hear said and what he knows ought to be said upon the occasion.*

4 *ἄπειρος*] *The man of no experience in military matters, or, he that is quite a stranger to the affair.*

ib. *ἐπὶ αἷ*] *some things.*

5 *πλεονάζειν*] Supply *νομίσαι*. Sch.

6. *φύσιν*] *His own natural abilities.*

8 *αὐτὸς ἑστὸς οἶηται ἑαυτὸς εἶναι*] Instead of *ἑστὸς οἶηται ἑαυτὸς ἑαυτὸν εἶναι*.

9. *φθισούσης*] N. the transition from the singular *αὐτὸς* to the plural.

- 4 13 *πρὸς τὸν*] *Assequi, to obtain, or rather to hit the mark, not to miss of or disappoint your βέλους, that affectionate regard which You entertain of the persons deceased, in consequence of your δόξας, or the honourable opinion You have of their merit. See above, l. 4. βέλους καὶ ἐπίσταται.*

16 *ὅτι τὸ πρὸς τῷ*] viz. *καίρω* or *σώματι* or *ἐπαίῳ*.

18 *αὐτὰ οἱ αὐτοὶ &c.*] *They have all along continued possessors.*

There is scarce any people but what have shewn their vanity in endeavouring to carry the original ancestors of their country as high as possible. The *Athenians* would needs be thought *Ἀντιχθόνες*, sprung from the earth, and to have derived their origin from no other nation. And thus much must be said, that *Attica* was less molested than its neighbouring regions, which by their fruitfulness afforded more temptation to invaders. The original plantation of those parts of Greece is with reason supposed to have been made by *Javan*, the fourth son of *Japhet*; and it is certain also that they received colonies afterwards from *Egypt*. See *Archæol.* v. 1. p. 2, 3 &c.

19 *μὲν τῷ*] viz. *τῷ* *χρῶσι*.

20 *αὐτοὶ*] Supply *ἔσσι*.

22 *ὅτι οἱ*] i. e. *ὅτι τῷ* *αὐτοῖς* *ἂν ἰδῇ*.

- 5 1 *ὅτι δόξας* may be referr'd either to *κτησίῳ*, it cost them some pains to acquire it, --- or to *συναπείλει*, it cost them pains to secure it to us.

2 *τὸ δὲ πλεον αὐτῆς &c.*] If the *κτησίῳ* ὅσον ἔχοντες δέχων was owing to their Forefathers, how can it be said *τὸ δὲ πλεον αὐτῆς ἐκτελέσασθαι*? --- The word *δέχων* may refer to the ancient Dominion of *Attica* itself: Or, the words *τὸ δὲ* may be the Speaker's Oratorical correction of what he had just been saying. *Pericles* refers to the acquisitions which had been made during his administration by the reduction of *Eubæa* and *Samos*. See *Stanley* V. 1. p. 311, 316.

3 *ὅτι τῇ κατὰ φύσιν ηλικίᾳ*] Who are as yet of the stated age for military service. The *Athenians* at 18 years of age began their military service by being appointed to guard the city, with the forts belonging to it: but were not sent to foreign wars 'till 20: the *Lacedæmonians* seldom 'till 30: After 60 it seems to have been usual in most places to allow them liberty to retire from further service. See *Archæol.* v. 2. p. 6. At *Athens* the whole season for military duty was 42 years, reckoning from 18 to 60. See *Dr Taylor* not. ad *Lysiam* p. 125.

5 ⁴ καὶ τὴν πόλιν &c.] The *Athenians* having done signal service to the common safety by repelling the attacks of the *Persians*, were now look'd upon as the most considerable State of *Greece*. And they did not fail to make advantage of this their reputation, by getting themselves invested with the power of providing for the common welfare, and for that purpose of levying tribute upon all their neighbours, and managing the publick treasure; which trust they discharged no less to their own than the publick welfare.

7 ἢ εἰ π -- ἡμετέροις] For αἰνεώμενοι ἐποιήσαμεν.

8 Βαζάρου ἢ Ἐδνης πόλεμον ἐπίοντα] For πόλεμον ὡς Βαζάρου ἢ Ἐδνης ἐπίοντα.

10 ἐπιτηδεύσεις comprehends all that serves to render a man ἐπιτηδεύων: and inasmuch as education does in a more especial manner fit persons for their respective businels, it comes to signify *Education*.

14 ἐπὶ τῷ πικρόν] viz. ζῆλον, or πῶγμον, or ἐπαινον.

16 ἐύμφορον εἶναι ὅμιλον] For ὅμιλον --- or, imagining it to be useful that the whole assembly should hear.

17 πολιτεία] Solon in settling the Constitution of the *Athenian* government endeavour'd to poise one part of State against the other: so that what the meaner sort of people wanted in wealth and honour was sufficiently made up to them in their share of the Government. See *Stanyan* V. i. p. 180.

ib. ἢ ζήλοσιν] as that of *Lacedaemon* did; the laws whereof were borrowed from the *Cretans* and *Egyptians*. *Stan.* V. i. 70, 72.

19 ὄνομα] Supply καὶ.

20 Ἀλλὰ τὸ μὴ εἰς ὀλίγους οἰκῆν] Because we do not manage the affairs of state with a view to the advantage of a few. οἰκῆν for διοικῆν, viz. πρὸς τῇ πόλει. --- The preposition εἰς determines the persons here spoken of to be the object of the administration of Government, and not the persons conducting it; in which latter case the *Greek* should have been Ἀλλὰ τὸ μὴ ὑπ' ὀλίγων ἀλλ' ὑπὸ πλείωνι οἰκῆσθαι.

22 ἴδμε ἀμφόροισιν] i. e. τὰ ἀμφόροισιν πρὸς ἰδίαις, Sch. as to matters of private controversy. All Persons, without distinction of Quality, were capable of being appointed to sit in judgment, provided they were arrived to the age of 30 years, and had never been convicted of any notorious crime. *Archcol.* v. i. p. 108.

6 1 ἐν τῇ] For ἐν πρὶ, viz. πῶγμον.

2 οὐκ ἀπὸ μίθους] τὴν λέγει Ἀλλὰ τὸς Ἡρακλῆας βασιλεῖς τῶν Λακωνικῶν, οἱ πρὸς ἀπὸ μίθους ἔρχον, Ἀλλὰ μόνον τὴν ἐνίκησαν, καὶ μὴ οὐκ

6

ἔχον τὴν δριττὴν. Sch. *not from partial views of family, wealth &c. but, as he says above, as ἱκανοὶ &c.* However 'tis to be observed, that tho' by *Salon's* constitutions the poorer Citizens were invested with the management and controll of all affairs of State equally with the men of fortune, yet according to them, no man was eligible into the Archonship, except he was possessed of such a considerable estate in land as would produce 500 *Medimnas* of Grain. Several struggles were made by the commonalty to get the government entirely into their hands; and in *Aristides's* time it was thought expedient to render the poorer sort capable of appearing as Candidates for the highest offices and preferments. *Archæol.* v. 1. p. 72. *Rollin* V. 3. B. 6. c. 2. §. 13.

5 οὐδ' -- κακώλυται] The *Εκκλησία*, or publick Assembly for the management of state affairs, consisted of all such as were freemen of *Athens*, of what quality soever; wherein every man, except under the age of 30 or convicted of some heinous crime, had liberty to declare his sentiments concerning the state of the Commonwealth. *Archæol.* v. 1. p. 91, 95, 96.

6 καὶ ἵς τῷ &c.] And as to the view in which we consider; or, the construction which we put upon the *ἡμετέρας*, the behaviour and conduct of one another, in ordinary affairs, such as happen *κατὰ ἡμέραν*.

9 ἱκανοὶ] For ἱκανοί.

ib. δι' ὧν ἱκανοὶ τῷ --] The same with *ἡμετέρας* τῷ --

ib. κατὰ ἡμέραν] according to the bent of his own humour, be it ever so capricious.

ib. οὐδ' ἀξίως μὴ λυπηρὸς δὲ τῇ ὀψὶ ἀχθάντας παθημένοι] Nor using such severity of discipline, as tho' not intended by way of punishment is yet grievous to behold; Or, τῇ ὀψει may be referr'd to *παθημένοι* as the manner of giving uneasiness, by four looks, which tho' they have not the nature of a punishment, yet are very teizing and vexatious. The *Lacedæmonians* were famous for the severity with which they treated their Children: A specimen whereof may be given in the yearly custom which they had of whipping their Boys at the altar of *Diana Taurica*, which they would bear patiently 'till the blood ran; and sometimes their emulation carried them on 'till they dy'd on the spot: This was not done by way of punishment, but in order to inure them to undergo hardships and fatigues. The same purpose was intended to be served by their going barefoot, with their heads shav'd, and by their fighting with one another: Add

6 to this, that they were constantly under the inspection of some one to exercise immediate command over them. And in this kind of minority they seem to have lived 'till they were 30 years of age. *Stanyan* V. i. p. 79 &c.

11 τῇ ἰδίᾳ] Supply καὶ αὐτῇ.

12 τῶν πᾶσι αἰσὶν ἐν δρχίᾳ ὄντων] of those persons at all times, who happen to be invested with authority.

17 τῶν πῶτον πλείους &c.] The Athenians seem to have outdone all other people in the number of their Festivals; nor did the frequency of them abate any thing of the solemnity, splendour and charges at their observation. Most of them were celebrated at the publick expence. *Archæol.* v. i. B. 2. c. 19, 20.

18 τῇ γνώμῃ] upon deliberate principle --- out of a principle of good policy.

19 θυσιῶν] Of the Grecian sacrifices, see *Archæol.* v. i. B. 2. c. 4.

ib. διηρησίου] annual; or, throughout the year. The Scholiast has δ' ὅτι ἐν ταῖς θυσίαισι οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι καὶ ἐκείνῳ πλεονεκτήματα ἡμέρας.

ib. νομιστοῦς] the same as καὶ τῇ πᾶσι νόμισμα ἡμέρας ἀποκρί- πτε. Sch.

20 ὡς καὶ ἡμέρας] Supply γινώσκον.

21 ἐκπλήσσει] banishes every vexatious uneasy thought.

22 ἐκπορεύεται δὲ ἐκ πόλεως γῆς τε πάντας.] The Athenians greatly improved their trade and navigation by means of their colonies and settlements upon all parts of the sea coast, as well throughout Asia minor, and the Islands of the Ægean Sea, as in Thessaly, Macedon and Thrace: The consequence whereof was the introduction of Luxury in all its shapes. --- At Lacedæmon, *Lycurgus* took effectual care to prevent the importation of such foreign commodities as might tend to effeminacy and excess, by prohibiting the use of gold and silver-money. See *Stanyan* V. i. p. 77.

7 5 ἐναντίων] viz. the Lacedæmonians.

6 ἢ ἐκ ἐστίν (viz. ἡγεμονίας) ὅτι] never--- no instance can be produced.

ib. ἐκπορεύεται;] *Lycurgus's* institutions discouraged the intercourse of Foreigners among the Lacedæmonians, to prevent their introducing a corruption of manners, and breaking in upon the constitution of the Government. *Stanyan* V. i. p. 78.

7 καὶ ἡμεῖς ἢ ἡμεῖς] the privilege of our Schools or Theater --- any kind of instruction or spectacle.

8 ὁ μὴ κρυφθῆναι] For ὁ μὴ κρυφθῆναι, or at least μὴ κρυφθῆναι seems redundant; for ὁ ἐν τῇ ἰδίᾳ (μὴ κρυφθῆναι) is sufficient.

- 7 9 ταῖς παιοδοδαῖς καὶ ἀπείταις] The *Lacedæmonian* youth were carefully train'd up at home to the politick part of war by being habituated to their Watches, Guards, Ambuscades, with other wiles and stratagems, to give them a notion of what they were afterwards to do in the field. *Stanyan* V. 1. p. 80, 81, 84.
- 12 ἐπιπύου ἀπείας] See p. 6. 9.
- ib. τὸ ἀνδρῶν μετίζονται] follow after fortitude, τὸ τοῖς ἀνδράσι πεῖπον. Sch. Or, it may be, pass on to the state of manhood, the same as τὸ ἀνδρῶν τέλει. *Plat.* 46. l. 22. Or, εὐθὺς νῆαι ὄντες, in their youth undergo the service of men.
- 15 τεκμήλειον δὲ] more fully, τεκμήλειον δὲ τῷ τ' ἐστὶ, or, τῷ τ' ἀν εἶν τοῖς ἐπὶ μῦθον.
- 16 καὶ ἐκείνους] by separate parties and detachments.
- ib. μετ' πάντων] with their whole united forces.
- 17 τῶν πύλων] viz. ἀνδρῶν.
- 20 ἀπὸ τῇ δυνάμει] any large and considerable body of our forces.
- 22 ἐν τῇ γῇ] antithetical to ἐν τῇ θυλάκῃ implied in the word ταυπηῖ.
- 8 1 ὡσεμύξωσι] viz. the *Lacedæmonians*.
- 3 κνηστῆτες] Supply the word φασί or λίγισσι, which is implied in the word αὐχῶσι; for the word αὐχῶσι itself can not here be properly made use of.
- 4 ἐῖ ῥαθυμία μᾶλλον &c.] If then we men of ease and pleasure (as the *Lacedæmonians* are pleased to call us) rather than habituated to toil and hard service, can readily face danger, not so much out of a servile compliance with penal laws --
- 6 φειγόμεναι ἡμῖν] we have however, notwithstanding our ῥαθυμία, so much spirit and industry remaining.
- 7 μὴ ὡσεμύξωμεν] not to faint at the approach of future difficulties, Or, not to anticipate our future troubles by a course of previous hardships, so wearing out our strength and spirits before we encounter them.
- ib. μὴ ἀπολυστέρειν] Regularly it should be ἀπολυστέρειν.
- 10 θαυμάζοντες] Supply φημι or φειγόμεναι
- 11 φιλοκαλῶμεν &c.] we have the art of appearing like Gentlemen of taste without extravagance, and as Scholars without effeminacy. Alluding to what is objected to the study of Philosophy, that it enervates the mind, and renders men unfit for active life. *Socrates* and *Xenophon* particularly distinguish'd themselves as Soldiers. *Stanyan* V. 2. p. 60, and 40. *Rollin* V. 3. p. 297, and 405.
- 13 ἢ λόγῳ κόμπῳ] rather than for ostentation to make ourselves talked of.
- 15 αἰχρῶν] Supply νομίζομεν.
- 17 ὡς ἔργα] to Trades and Husbandry; for as the former

8 mer were called Ἐργαται, so the latter were Γενεῖσι. *Archæol.* v. i. p. 50.

19 τῶν τε μηδὲν τῶνδε μετιχρῶν &c.] All Freemen of Athens were expected to give their attendance at the publick Assemblies, and when they became remiss in it, the Magistrates used their utmost endeavours to compell them, shutting up all the Gates of the City excepting that thro' which they were to pass to the place of the Assembly; and sometimes they proceeded so far as to fine those that behaved negligently, and to reward those that came thither early. *Archæol.* v. i. p. 94. This busy disposition continued to be their character in St Paul's time, *Act.* 17. 21. *All the Athenians spend their time in nothing but hearing and telling some new thing.*

20 οὐκ ἀπαύγουσι ἀλλ' ἀχρεῖον] This principle was carried so far among the Athenians, that in the case of seditions and civil wars it was highly penal in any man to keep neuter, and not to join with one or other of the contending parties. *Archæol.* v. i. p. 182. See also *Leff. Lysiac.* c. 11.

21 ἡ αὖτις] And We (not caring to trust to other people for the management of our publick affairs, We ourselves have all of us our full employment therein) ἡμεῖς αὖτις, either we exert ourselves, as Speakers, in debating and examining, ἢ ἐκθυμώμεθα ὁρῶν τὴν ἀνάγκην, or, as Hearers, in considering and forming a right apprehension of what we are to undertake.

ib. λόγους] The Lacedæmonians were as remarkable for their taciturnity and few words, as the Athenians were for their love of publick harangues.

9 1 ἀνὰ] Supply βλάπτον ἡγάμεθα.

5 δ] i. e. καὶ δ, in which particular.

9 ἀφ' ὧν] i. e. ἀφ' τῶν συμφέρων πυνόκεν.

ib. μὴ δότες πόρρον] for δότες πόρρον.

10 καὶ τὸ ἐν δριττῷ] i. e. καὶ κατὰ τὸ &c. as to the exercise of that, which particularly distinguishes the man of virtue, Beneficence.

12 βέλτεροι δὲ] i. e. φίλοι ἐσιν.

13 ὥστε σῶζεν] i. e. ἵνα σῶζη.

14 ἀμολύνει] q. d. the edge of his generosity is taken off and blunted.

15 αὐτῷ -- δανείων] i. e. αὐτῷ ἑαυτὸν δανείων.

ib. οὐκ ἐς χάριν] that it will not entitle him to thanks.

17 ἐμφερότης λογισμῶν] the computation of advantage.

ib. τὸ ἐλδοθεῖαι τῷ πιστῷ] in confidence of their generosity whom we oblige.

- 9 19 *ἐπιπλεον*] viz. πάντα, to sum up all, bring all to a point.
 ib. *τὴν πόλιν πᾶσαν*] that our City taken in the whole.
 20 *ἕκαστος*] each man in his single capacity.
 21 *πᾶσι ἡμῶν*] viz. ἐπαρχοῖα, γυμναῖοι, &c. men that go out from among us, viz. to the publick Games of Greece.
 ib. *ἐν πάσῃ αὐτῇ*] viz. in the several kinds of bodily exercises, such as Leaping, Running, Throwing, Darting, Wrestling, Racing. Solon to encourage the Athenians in these feats of activity enacted an allowance of 100 Drachms (3l 4s 7d) out of the publick Treasury to every Athenian, who obtained a prize in the Isthmian Games, and 500 to such as were victors in the Olympian. Afterwards the latter of these had their maintenance in the Prytaneum. *Archæol.* v. i. p. 441. *Rollin* V. 4. B. 10. c. 1. art. 2. §. 10.
- 10 2 *ἐν τῇ παύσει*] viz. ἐπαύσει.
 5 *τῷ*] viz. οὕτως.
 ib. *ἀφ' οὗ χρόνου ἐς πᾶσαν ἔρχεται*] upon being brought to the trial or test is found to exceed the character which it bears.
 7 *ἀναιδέατος ἔχῃ*] i. e. παύσει, affords ground to an Enemy to conceive an indignation, ὑφ' οὗ, at the meanness of the persons by whom he suffers.
 8 *τῷ ὑποκόφῳ κατὰ μισθόν*] ἔχῃ, i. e. παύσει, affords just reason to its Vassals to complain.
 9 *σημείων*] may be interpreted proofs from fact. -- *μάρτυρες*, are living witnesses, vouchers, &c.
 12 *ἐδὲ πεσοδὶμοι*] for κατ' ἐδὲ, i. e. ἐδαμῶς πεσοδὶμοι.
 13 *τῷ δὲ ἔργῳ ὑπερβῶν ἢ ἀλῆθειαν βλάβῃ*] for ἢ τῷ ἔργῳ ὑπερβῶν βλάβῃ τὴν ἀλῆθειαν, the too high opinion which a Poet may raise of the achievements, will hurt or impair the credit of what was really achieved; Or else, the truth as it will appear upon examination, will destroy the high opinion which the Reader of such a Poem may have preconceived.
 16 *καταναγκάζουσιν*] For καταναγκάζονται, and so *ἐκκαταναγκάζονται*.
 19 *δικαιῶντες μὴ ἀφαιρῆναι αὐτῷ*] i. e. ἐδικαιονομίζοντες ἀφαιρῆναι αὐτῷ, not thinking it right that it should be deprived of those great advantages, which are just before mentioned, its δυνάμεις &c.
 21 *πάντα πᾶσι*] either each particular person of those who survive; or, that they who survive will be ready to undergo every thing that may happen.
- 11 4 *ὁμοίως*] For ὁμοίως; or rather supply *παρὰ γὰρ*.
 8 *ισόρροπος* -- ὁ λόγος τῶν ἔργων] The meaning seems to require *ισόρροπος* ὁ λόγος τῶν ἔργων, the facts will not be found upon enquiry to be equal to the commendation which is given of them.

- 13 9 *σηλῶν*] It was common to beautify sepulchres with pillars of stone, which frequently contained Inscriptions declaring the Family, Virtues, and whatever else was remarkable in the Deceased. *Archæol.* v. 2. p. 221.
- 11 *ἐν τῇ μὴ πατρίδι*] viz. *χώρα*, a country which does not belong to them; it being reckon'd a great misfortune to die, or at least to be buried in a foreign country.
- 12 *ἢ ἔργῳ*] any work, any such funeral solemnity as we are now performing (as the word is used p. 3. l. 5. and also by Plato and Lysias) or, any sepulchre erected with much labour.
- 15 *μὴ ἀμελεῖσθαι*] do not overlook, not think yourselves unconcern'd in.
- 16 *ἡ ἐναντία μεταβολή*] the contrary change, viz. from happiness to misery, from honour to disgrace.
- 19 *ἐν οἷς -- μεγάλην τὴν ἀφάρτησιν*] in whom the difference is truly great.
- 20 *ἀνδρὶ γε φρόνημα ἔχοντι*] a man of spirit.
- 21 *ἢ ἐν τῷ μὲν ἢ ἐν τῷ μὲν &c.* whether it might not rather be wrote *ἢ ἐν τῷ μὲν &c.* the suffering a diminution in any respect, especially if the doing so be attended with or occasion'd by cowardice and effeminacy.
- 22 *ὁ μὲν ῥώμης -- θάνατον*] death occasioned by the vigorous exertion of our strength and courage, or, arriving while we are in vigour.
- ib. *μὲν καὶ ἑαυτῶν ἐλπίδι*] the common hopes either of coming in for a share of the solemnity of an honourable interment in their own country, together with their Comrades who fell with them, (to which purpose the expression seems used by Lysias p. 53. l. 5.) or the common hopes of having served their country.
- ib. *ἅμα γενέσθαι ἀναιδέως*] q. d. *ὅς ἅμα* vel *ἐν τῷ γίνεσθαι ἑαυτῶν ἀναιδέως*.
- 14 3 *ἐπίστανται τὰ φθίματα*] q. d. *ἐπίστανται ἑαυτοὺς τὰ φθίματα*, they know that by the course of (their breeding up and therefore of) human life, they are subject to a variety of misfortunes.
- 4 *τὸ δ' εὐτυχίας, οἱ δ' εὐπεισιπείτης λάχουσιν &c.*] more distinctly thus, *τὸ δ' εὐτυχίας, ἐπίστανται αὐτῶν εἶναι, οἱ δ' εὐπεισιπείτης ἴσως λάχουσιν, ὡς οἱ δὲ μὲν νῦν εὐπεισιπείτης ἔλαχον πλείους, (ὅμοιαι δὲ εὐπεισιπείτης λύπης ἐλάττω, parenthetically.)*
- 6 *ἢ ἐν οἷς &c.*] and whose happiness and life have been made commensurate to each other, being no less happy in the circumstance of their deaths than in their lives.
- 8 *πείθειν*] viz. *ὅμοιαι μὴ ἀμυνῶσθαι ἑαυτοῖς*.
- 10 *καὶ λύπῃ*] i. e. *τῇ οἰδ' ὅτι λύπῃ ἐστίν*.
- 14 *ἢ ἐν οἷς*] of those who are now no more.

15

this was a particular in which the other sex had little opportunity to signalize themselves, whether to their credit or discredit. --- *Plutarch*, in his treatise *Γυναικῶν Αρεταί*, refers to this passage: but, citing it I suppose by memory, misrepresents it, as if *Thucydides* was here describing the most excellent Woman to be her, ἡ δὲ ἐλάττωτος ἢ παρὰ τοῖς ἑκπὶς ψόγῳ πέρα ἢ ἐπαίνῳ λόγῳ.

- 19 αὐτῶν τὰς παῖδας &c.] The Children of such as sacrificed their lives for the glory and preservation of the *Athenian* commonwealth were carefully educated at the publick charge, μέχρις ἡέως, 'till the age of eighteen years, when they commenc'd ἐφηβοῖ. (*Archæol.* v. i. p. 48.) Two years after they were introduced at a publick meeting of the Δημόται (*men of the same borough*) and enter'd in a register called λεξιμαρχικὸν χειμαρμῶν, containing the names of all persons of that borough who were of age to succeed to the αἵμα, or inheritance of their Fathers. At this time they were presented with a compleat suit of armour, and brought forth before the people, one of the publick Ministers proclaiming before them, that hitherto in remembrance of their Fathers merits the Commonwealth had educated these young men, but now dismissed them so armed, to go forth and thank their Country by imitating their Fathers examples; and for their further encouragement they had the honour of the first seats at shews, and all publick meetings. *Archæol.* v. 2. p. 116, 346.

20 τὸ δὲ τῶν] viz. ἡ χεῖρ.

ib. δημοσίᾳ] viz. παρὰ, implied in the verb ἡρῶ.

21 στέφανον] Alluding to the Crowns usually bestow'd upon the victors in the *Olympick* Games; to which this glorious contest, who should deserve best of his Country, was analogous.

22 ἀντιθέσθαι] holding forth or setting before them, by way of encouragement and incitement.

NOTES

UPON

PLATO and LYSIAS.

TO commemorate the virtues of brave men is an employment no less worthy of the greatest Genius, than it is interesting to every Lover of his Country. To have this task assign'd him by publick Authority must be doubly pleasing to a Man of Parts. But without expecting the honour of such a call, a man may naturally enough be led to exercise his thoughts upon the subject, whether out of emulation of other men's performances, or from the desire of doing justice to such valuable characters, as he thinks have not been successfully attempted by others.

To one or other of these principles we owe the funeral Orations of *Plato*, and the Panegyrick of *Isocrates*: *Isocrates*'s performance is said to have cost him the labour of 10 or 15 years. Whether *Lysias*'s was ever spoken in publick or no is uncertain; 'tis probable it was not, at least by himself; for he did not enjoy the full rights of a common Citizen at *Athens*, and wanted the *ἀριστεία*, mention'd by *Thucydides*, p. 2. l. 1. as a necessary qualification for that honourable office: He therefore most probably compos'd it, either for the use of one of his Scholars, or for his own amusement, or as a model for Orations of this kind; and in fact *Isocrates* thought it worth his while to pursue the same plan even to a servile exactness. And to me there seems some ground to imagine that *Plato* compos'd His funeral Oration with a view to that of *Lysias*. ---

Pericles had exhausted what was to be said in praise of the *Athenian* people, and the constitution of their Government. *Lysias* therefore enters upon their History, a subject which was not so much as glanced at by *Pericles*. *Plato* seems to have approv'd of the plan, but to have thought that it might be pursued to greater advantage, especially by introducing a more particular detail of publick transactions: This he does with great conciseness and clearness; there being above double the number of principal facts referr'd to in *Plato*'s Oration beyond what occur in that of *Lysias*. (Tho' here

here we must observe an oversight in *Plato*, that he makes *Socrates* in this funeral oration refer to some facts, which 'tis generally agreed happen'd after his death: This is usually plac'd in the year before *Christ* 399, whereas the peace of *Antalcidas*, evidently referr'd to, was not concluded 'till 13 years after.)

Several passages in the proeme plainly intimate that *Plato* had some or more Rhetoricians of his time in view, p. 18. l. 3 -- 24. he ridicules their conceit of their own abilities, and the false kinds of eloquence into which they were betray'd, --- the airs they gave themselves in putting off as extemporal harangues what had cost them great pains and premeditation to compose, p. 19. l. 1. --- their vanity in keeping their rules of composition, and the copies they gave their scholars as mighty secrets, p. 20. l. 5. and p. 48. l. 12.

2. And as to this particular oration, what *Lysias* says by way of Apology for the imperfection of his performance, his being obliged *ἐξ ἰλίκων ἡμεῶν λόγῳ*, p. 49. l. 4. is rallied by *Plato's* *ἐπὶ ἰκρίσις τῷ λόγῳ παρασκευασμένοι*.

3. *Plato*, p. 20. l. 23. intimates that an oration of this kind should begin from the point, viz. treating of the deceased themselves, and not, as *Lysias* does, with an Apology for the speaker.

4. The *κράδιστα πως ἐνέμμεσι ποιῶντες*, which *Plato* rallies, p. 18. l. 5. is justly enough applicable to *Lysias's* introducing antithetical expressions to a high degree of affectation.

5. What *Plato* says of the impropriety of condoling with the friends of the deceased, the *ἐπιωδύρια*, is a direct censure of what *Lysias* much enlarges upon, p. 74. l. 4. *ἄρῳ τῷ περὶ τὸν καὶ σφᾶς αὐτὸς ὀλοφύρεται, καὶ τὸς περὶ αὐτὸν ἰλίκῳ ἔπιλοιπον βίῃ*.

To which may be added another circumstance, that *Plato* in another of his pieces (*Phaedrus*) has a direct criticism or banter upon another oration of *Lysias*.

It must be confess'd after all, that there is not any oration of *Lysias* that seems less subject to exception than this Funeral one: And if we admit the justice of * *Cicero's* character of him, he cannot fail of engaging our attention, being a most consummate master of Oratory, equally fitted to do justice to subjects of every kind; the finest speaker, exquisitely delicate and elegant both in his expression and

* *Lysias* Disertissimus *Cic.* de Orat. l. 1. 118. Egregie subtilis atque elegans. --- Orator prope perfectus, pressus, enucleatus, limatus, grandis, incitatus, ornatus, elatus, gravis tam verbis quam sententiis. *Brut.* 17. Acutus facetus brevis. *ib.* 31. Venustissimus atque politissimus; nihil habet insolens aut ineptum, *Orat.* 15.

sentiments, close, perspicuous, polite, spirited, pompous, lofty, weighty, pointed, concise, full of humour or grave, as his subject requires.

Plato likewise is by *Cicero* no less recommended to our esteem. At the same time those, who are us'd to those high finish'd pieces, which *Cicero* has prefix'd to some of his Dialogues by way of Proemes, may perhaps be disgusted at that very great plainness and simplicity with which the Dialogue-part is here conducted; they may also censure that frivolous kind of reasoning which he falls into p. 23. (tho' indeed all that could be offer'd in support of his Countryman's favourite notion of being αὐτάρχης must be frivolous.) --- But whatever justice there may be in any of these strictures, both orations are well worthy the perusal, particularly that *Prosopopœia* of *Plato*, p. 41 &c. than which nothing can contain better sense, or be work'd up more oratorically.

I have only to add, that I have placed *Plato's* oration second in Order, altho' I suppose it to have been composed after *Lysias's*; because he intimates, that it was a sort of supplement to *Pericles's* oration, p. 19. l. 27.

17 ¹ Μυρτίου] *Socrates* had a son by his wife *Myrton* of this name, *Laert.* l. 2. 26. and *Suid.* --- Tho' from the air of the Dialogue, and p. 17. l. 7. it can scarce be his son who is introduced as speaking. And I may observe, that the Writers usually consulted upon such names as are here incidentally mention'd (such as l. 14. Ἀρχαῖος and Δίω p. 19. l. 14. Κορῆ l. 18. and Ἀχμῶτης and Ἀνφῶν) namely *Diogenes Laertius* and *Suidas*, afford no satisfactory account of either, more than what may be collected from the manner in which their names are here mention'd: excepting indeed as to Ἀνφῶν, who is generally celebrated as a man of distinguish'd eminence for his skill in oratory, contrary to what is intimated p. 19. l. 14.

ib. Ἀγορῆς] viz. the old Forum within the city, in which were frequently held the publick assemblies of the people; tho' the chief design of it was for the purpose of buying and selling. *Archæol.* v. 1. p. 37.

ib. ἐξ ἀγορῆς] viz. ἐξ ἔχθρ.

2 Βουλότηρις] In the old Forum there were several Βουλότηρια, or publick Halls, where each company of tradesmen met and consulted about their affairs. *Archæol.* v. 1. p. 37. --- The Βουλότηριον here mention'd is the Senate-House, where the Senate of 500 met to inspect and prepare all matters before they were propounded

- 17 to the general assembly of the people, and to transact several things by their own authority. See *Archæol.* v. i. p. 97 &c. By *Menexenus's* being there it appears that the transactions and debates of that council were not kept private; for he was not yet *ἐν δέχῃ*.
- ib. *τί μάλιστα σὺ*] viz. *ἀγούμενος ἀφ' ὧν βέλ.* what could induce you of all people in the world to ---
- 4 *ἐπὶ τῇ* -- *ἔσται*] to have arrived at the last and highest stage of ---
- 10 *ἢ βελή*] See *Thucyd.* p. i. l. 16.
- 12 *ἄλλος*] some body or other to speak.
- 13 *ἐν τῷ αὐτοῖον*] viz. *ἡμίτερον*. this Senate met for the most part every day. *Archæol.* v. i. p. 99.
- 15 *πολλὰ καὶ κενωδὴ καλὸν*] sure it must be a glorious and desirable thing καὶ πολλὰς ᾗς ὁπρὸς in many respects to ---
- 18 3 *παροπιδουμένων*] used in the active sense; or else men who are prepared (*καὶ*) λόγους.
- 5 *καὶ καὶ πῶς οἰόμεσθαι ποιηδόντες*] diversifying and thereby embellishing their panegyrick with fine words.
- 9 *καταίωσιν πᾶν ἀγῆστειν*] find my spirits surprizingly raised within me ---
- 10 *ἐν παντί*] upon every such occasion ---
- 11 *ἐν τῷ παροπιδουμένῳ*] viz. *ῥήματι*.
- 12 *καὶ οἷα ἢ τὰ πολλὰ, αἰεὶ*] Q. whether αἰεὶ is not a gloss for οἷα τὰ πολλὰ: or thus, καὶ καὶ τῶν τῶν πρᾶγμα, ὡς καὶ τὰ πολλὰ, αἰεὶ, and I have always upon this occasion, as I have upon many others, strangers in my company. see p. 25. l. 2.
- 18 *αὐτὴ ἡ σπουδὴ*] this high sense of my own importance and dignity ---
- 19 *ὥς ἐν ᾧ*] so musical and so enchanting, --- or continues so to tingle in my ears.
- 22 *τῶς*] during that interval.
- 25 *ἐξ ὧν*] viz. *ῥήματι*.
- 19 2 *ἐὰν μὴ γὰρ οἷοι (τὸ ῥήματι) Ἀθηναῖος ἐν Πελοποννησίοις εὖ λέγειν*] If an Orator was to undertake the business of praising the Athenians in an assembly of Peloponnesians, who may be supposed naturally prejudiced in their disfavour.
- 5 *ἀγωνίζεσθαι*] is to perform his part: for inasmuch as an Orator's reputation was so highly interested in the satisfaction which he gave to his Auditors, this business of speaking might properly enough be considered as an *ἄγων*.
- 13 *Ἀσπασίαν*] She was born at *Miletus*; and is said by her wit and beauty to have gain'd the affection of the principal Grecians of *Ionia*, as she afterwards did that of *Pericles* at *Athens*; over whom she is said to have had so much influence, as to cause him to engage the
Athe-

- 19 *Athenians* in a war against the *Samians*, who had got the better of the *Milesians* in a war about the city of *Priene*.

14 λίγω γδ] *yes, I do mean her* ---

15 Μυσική] Tho' the word is often us'd in a more extended sense so as to comprehend all the politer arts, yet here it seems to refer to the art of *modulating* the voice, &c. as ῥητορικὴ does to the art of *composing* an oration.

26 μοι δοκεῖ] viz. καὶ δὲ μοι δοκεῖ.

- 20 3 εἰλύει] for εἰλύει δὲν, or more fully ὥστε δὲν μικρὸν πρὸς ἀγῶνι-
τις δὲν.

4 αἰδ' ὅπως] viz. διδασκῶ or σιόπει, βλέπει, &c.

ib. δόκιδωται] sc. ἰμῖται. Tho' Dancing in *Greece* was look'd on as a commendable accomplishment and made a constant part of liberal education, yet this like several others, became perverted to lascivious purposes, particularly what were call'd *κροτάλαιμοι*, and therefore no wonder that dancing, when prostituted by Buffoons, should be thought indecent in men of wisdom and character. See *Archæol.* v. 2. p. 201. *Rollin* V. 4. B. 10. C. 1. Ar. 2. §. 10.

- 21 1 εἰδ' ἔχουσ] In the Edit. it is εἰδ' ἢδ' ἔχουσ. In *Dion. Halicarn.* and *Longin.* ἢδ' is omitted. The former admires this passage for the harmonious running of the words; the latter observes a particular beauty in *Plato's* describing Death by the periphrastical expression of ἀμφοτέρων πρόειαν, and the discharging of the funeral solemnities by συμπιφθῆναι &c.

2 προέειπται ἀμφοτέρων πρόειαν] Alluding to the opinion that Souls could not be admitted to the common receptacle of Ghosts 'till their bodies were duly interr'd. *Archæol.* v. 2. p. 161 &c.

3 κενῇ] viz. συμπιφθῆναι implied in συμπιφθῆναι.

6 καὶ ἑαυτῇ] *and it is proper in itself.*

11 εὐμνῶς παραινεῖται] *exhort them in such a manner as to sooth their present sorrow.*

14 ἢ πῶς τῶν ἀνδρῶν ἐπ' ὧσιν] *as Grandfathers, Great Grandfathers, &c.*

15 τούτους δὲ] Tho' the particle δὲ may seem redundant, yet this repetition is not uncommon in *Plato*, being more strongly determinative of the persons here spoken of.

20 ἀλλὰ ἑαυτοῖς] *were contented to receive their own deaths in exchange, in order to purchase* ---

- 22 9 οὐκ ἔπληυς ὤν] See *Περικλ.* p. 4. l. 18.

10. μιστικῶς] The *Athenians* were extremely jealous
of

22

of their rights as free born Citizens, and were therefore particularly careful to keep up the distinction between themselves and the *μέτοικοι*, or such as came from foreign countries and settled in *Attica*; where, tho' they were admitted by the council of *Areopagus*, and enter'd in a publick register, yet they were kept from intermeddling in any business of a publick nature, or indeed from acting in any thing, unless by means of some Citizen, under whose patronage and protection they placed themselves. *Archæol.* v. 1. p. 43, 53 &c.

15 καὶ οὖν καὶ αὐτὸς τελευτήσαντας] viz. φημί αὐτὸς κηδεσθαι τελευτῶν. for this infinitive can't properly be referr'd to ἡ γένεσις ἀποφθιγγόμενης, l. 10.

20 πολλὰ μὲν καὶ ἄλλα] viz. ἐπὶ μέρει.

23

1 ἡ δ' ἀμφιόσσηταινται ἀπὸ αὐτῆς Θειῶν ἔστι τι καὶ κρείσσιν] viz. between *Neptune* and *Minerva*, who should be declared Protector of *Athens*. *Archæol.* v. 1. p. 31, 91. *Hind.* p. 20, 21.

5 ἐν ᾧ ἡ πῦρ καὶ ἀνδρῶν &c.] see *Lucret.* l. 5. v. 780 &c.

9 ἐξήνεστον] Alluding to the title in which the *Athenians* prided themselves, *Ἀσπίχθονες*.

11 νομίζει] not only *thinks* there are, but καὶ τὸν νόμον σέβεται.

13 πᾶν γὰρ τὸ τίκον &c.] Notwithstanding the frivolousness of this reasoning, *Lucretius* seems to have alluded to it, l. 5. v. 805.

*Hinc ubi quæque loci regio opportuna dabatur,
Crescebant uteri terræ radicibus apti;
Quos ubi tempore maturo patefecerat ætas
Infantum fugiens humorem, aurasque petissens,
Convertebat ibi Natura foramina terræ,
Et succum venis cogebat fundere apertis
Consimilem lactis; sicut nunc fœmina quæque
Cum peperit dulci repletur lacte, ---*

ib. ἀποτρεχέει καὶ μέγιστον] viz. καὶ τὸ τοῦ ἀποτρεχέει.

14 ὅ καὶ γὰρ δὴ καὶ ταῦτα τῆς] The participle here following the adjective is to be thus resolved, either ὅ καὶ δὴ καὶ ἐπὶ γυναικὶ ταῦτα ἀληθῆς, OR δὴ καὶ ἐπὶ ὡς γυνὴ ἔτι καὶ ---

15 καὶ μὴ, ἀλλ' ὑποκαταλαμβάνει] viz. καὶ (δὴ καὶ) μὴ (ταῦτα) ἀλλ' ὑποκαταλαμβάνει. i. e. καὶ δὴ καὶ ἐπὶ γυναικὶ μὴ ταῦτα ἀλλ' ὑποκαταλλάττει, OR ὡς μὴ ἔτι καὶ ἀλλ' ὑποκαταλλάττει ---

18 μόνη γὰρ &c.] *Lucret.* l. 6. v. 1.

*Primæ frugiferos fœtus mortalibus ægris
Dididerunt quondam præclaro nomine Athenæ:
Et recreaverunt vitam, legeſque rogarunt.*

19 ἐν τῇ τίνι] viz. γένει.

- 24 4 *ὥς ἐφ' ὅσον ἀλλ' ἔνευε &c.*] It has been so far from dealing them out with a niggardly hand, that it has imparted sufficient to serve the necessities of others. As to the fact, Attica is on all hands agreed to have been very craggy, and to have had a very unfruitful soil, which however disadvantageous in other respects, serv'd to quicken the invention of the Inhabitants, and put them upon exerting themselves by trade and commerce. *Stan. V. 1. p. 11. Archæol. v. 1. p. 2. Rollin V. 2. B. 5. Art. 3.* In the reign of Pandion I. Triptolemus is said to have taught the Athenians to sow and manure the ground, which he learnt from Ceres, the same with the Egyptian Isis, who is thought at this time to have come into Attica. *Stan. v. 1. p. 141.*
- 8 *Θεὸς ἐπηγάγετο*] Cecrops an Egyptian is said to have introduc'd a form of Religion among the Athenians, to have erected Altars and Statues in honour of the Gods, particularly Jupiter and Minerva. *Stan. v. 1. p. 132. Archæol. v. 1. p. 184.*
- 9 *οἷμα ἄνθρωπων*] Inasmuch as it would be descending too low to recount the several inventors of manual arts, and would be foreign to the purpose to be particular in the detail of any transactions but those of a military nature.
- 11 *τίχρας ἐπέτι*] As Cecrops Navigation, Triptolemus Agriculture, Theseus's civil Polity. *Archæol. v. 1. p. 8, 9, 10. Pelasgus Building. Stan. p. 10.*
- 13 *ἐπὶ τῇ κτῇ*] See *Archæol. v. 2. B. 3. c. 4.*
- 16 *ἀπὸ βροχίων*] viz. ἡμετέραν.
- 21 *οἱ οἶδε τυγχάνουσιν ὅντις οἱ πεπλοσθηγῆτες*] instances whereof we have now before us in the persons here deceased.
- 25 1 *τίτις ἢ καὶ νῦν (ἴσιν) δεσποκρατία*] viz. it was originally, as it now is, in reality according to the import of the name, an Aristocracy, the best constituted form of Government.
3. *ὡς καὶ πολλὰ*] The Democracy was broke in upon several times; viz. by Pisistratus, --- when the Government of the 400 was establish'd, --- when the thirty Tyrants had the Administration.
- 4 *ὁ δὲ ἄλλο*] i. e. κατ' ἄλλο ὄνομα.
- 5 *μετ' εὐδελίας πλείους δεσποκρατία*] The Commonalty of Athens being by Solon's constitution invested with the supreme power in all affairs, as well publick as private, He to prevent the pernicious consequences that might arise from the rashness of an unthinking multitude, instituted a council of men of the best credit in the city to inspect and prepare all matters before they were propounded to the people: this Coun-

25

Council at first consisted of 400, afterwards of 500. *Archæol.* v. i. p. 97 &c.

6 βασιλεὺς μὲν γὰρ αὐτῶν] *q. d.* And whereas the Lacedæmonians boast of the advantages of Regal government, we have always had something thereof in our constitution. The persons invested with that authority holding it sometimes by descent, at other times by election. After Codrus the name of King was no longer given to the supreme Magistrate, but that of *Archon*. The office was at first perpetual; then decennial; afterwards annual: After which last regulation there were 9 of them; and only one had the title of *Archon*: his authority, tho' much curb'd by his colleagues and the councils, was however pretty nearly as extensive as that of the *Lacedæmonian* Kings. The next was call'd βασιλεὺς, but his jurisdiction related chiefly to religious matters. The third, Πολύμυρμος; and the six others, Θισμβήται. *Archæol.* v. i. p. 12, 76.

7 ἐγκρατὲς τῇ πόλει] The Commonalty had a negative upon all proceedings of the Senate. *Archæol.* v. i. p. 95, 96. and therefore might be said to hold and restrain the Government within the bounds of moderation.

9 δέχοι καὶ κρείττω] The people had the disposal of all magistracies at *Athens*; and even those persons who ow'd their promotion to lot, were first approv'd by the people before they enter'd upon their office. *Archæol.* v. i. p. 72.

ib. κρείττω] influence, authority.

ib. τοῖς αὖτις δόξαν δόξαις εἶναι] to men according as they appear distinguished by their virtue.

10 οὐτὶς πείρα] See *Pericl.* p. 6. l. 2.

ib. ἀποδείξει] (*viz.* ἐπὶ) for want of personal interest.

11 οὐτ' ἀγνωσία πατέρων] The *Athenians* were very jealous of their rights and privileges as Citizens, and obliged all fathers to enroll their sons in the register of their particular φρεσίν called κλητὴν ῥαμματῶν. *Archæol.* v. i. p. 47. so that ἀγνωσία πατέρων only signifies their being men of no figure, or eminence in the state.

ib. ἀπιδίκαται] is thought disqualified for, or rejected from.

12 τοῖς ἐναντίοις] (ἐπὶ) for the contrary qualifications.

13 οἷς ὅς] the one and only mark of distinction is this.

14 κρείττω] has influence.

15 τοῖς πολιταῖς ταύταις] of our thus conducting our publick affairs.

17 ἀναιδέων] men of different rank and condition.

Q

18. ἀναι-

25 18. ἀόμαλος πολιτεία] *unequal administrations of government.* ὁμαλός seu ὁμαλὴς planus, æqualis. ὁμαλὴς διατεταμένη *æqualitas civilis*; cui πλεονεξία opponitur, seu plus habendi, acquirendique, cupiditas immodica, avaritiaque circumscribens, quæ sibi partem majorem justâ præcidit; & vitium ejus, qui in omni re præcipuum quippiam habere vult. *Budeus.*

18 Τυραννίδες] This was a term of reproach, as is also *Oligarchy* in the mouth of an *Athenian*, applied to all Monarchical and Aristocratical governments however administred.

19 οἰκῶσιν οὖν ὅσοι μὲν δούλοι, οἱ δὲ διαπότεις &c.] This distinction likewise obtain'd at *Athens*; the Servants being the most numerous part of the inhabitants of *Attica*. *Archæol.* v. 1. p. 43, 57 &c. But what he means is this, that in Monarchical and Oligarchical governments the bulk of the Citizens themselves are little better than *Slaves*; the *Men of fortune* look upon their inferiors as such.

ib. οἰκῶσιν οὖν] *the consequence whereof is seen in private life, that -- or -- accordingly they live in such manner as to regard one another ---*

22 οὐκ ἀξιῶμεν] *We neither think so meanly of ourselves as to become the Servants, nor so highly as to Lord it over one another ---*

26

2 ζητοῦν] *to exert ourselves in securing.*

3 μηδὲν ἄλλω] i. e. ἐπὶ μηδενὶ ἄλλῳ περὶ γυμνασίου in no other respect, on no other account ---

6 καὶ ἡρώδης φώτις] *having the glorious advantage of being free-born ---*

7 ἀποφρονέω] *have display'd, have distinguish'd themselves by ---*

12 Εὐμέλπυ καὶ Ἀμφζίων] It must not be supposed that these expeditions against *Athens* happen'd at the same time. see *Chronol. Tab.* p. 89.

ib. Εὐμέλπυ] He was K. of *Thrace*, and assisted the *Eleuthinians* in a war against *Athens* in the reign of *Erechtheus*. *Stan.* v. 1. p. 142. *Hind* p. 26.

ib. καὶ Ἀμφζίων] This war happen'd in the reign of *Ægeus*; the *Amazons* being provok'd thereunto by his son *Theseus*. *Stan.* v. 1. p. 150. *Hind* p. 57. See *Lysias* p. 50. l. 16.

13 ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ χρόνῳ] viz. in the fabulous times preceding the date of these transactions.

14 Ἀργεῖος] viz. when they assisted *Adrastus* against *Creon* in recovering the dead bodies of his friends who were slain before *Thebes*. For *Eteocles* and *Polynices*, sons

26 sons of *Oedipus* K. of *Thebes*, quarrelling about the administration of their father's Government, the latter called in to his assistance *Adrastus* K. of *Argos*; the attack upon the city of *Thebes* was made under the command of *Polynices* and *Adrastus*, with five other Captains, commonly called *οἱ ἐπὶ τῇ Θήβαις*, who all fell, except *Adrastus*, with the defeat of the army of the *Argives*. Upon this, *Creon* usurp'd the throne of *Thebes*, and would not suffer the *Argives* to bury their dead, 'till the *Athenians* under *Theseus* came at the request of *Adrastus*, and did it by force. *Hind* p. 66. *Stan.* v. i. p. 127.

15 *Ἡρακλῆδαις* *ὡς*; *Αργεῖς*] viz. against *Eurystheus*. After the death of *Hercules*, *Eurystheus* continued his resentment and express'd it to his Children, by commanding *Hyllus* and the rest, being about 60 in number, as they grew up, to quit *Peloponnesus*. They not being in a capacity to resist him, betook themselves to *Athens*, where they were harbour'd and protected. *Eurystheus* finding them thus settled in a body, and carrying it high upon their own descent and their Father's merit, invaded *Attica*, with a design to extirpate them. But he himself and his sons were slain. The *Heraclidae* in their turn invaded *Peloponnesus* several times, but were obliged to desist, till the third generation; when they succeeded in their enterprise, and changed the face of affairs in *Peloponnesus*. *Stan.* V. i. p. 37. §8. *Hind* p. 49.

ib. *πρὸς Καδμείας*] He calls the *Thebans* by this name, because they were yet under Kings of the race of *Cadmus*; Afterwards when their government became Democratical, they are call'd *Θηβαῖοι*.

16 *ὅ,τε χρόνος βραχὺς διηγέσθαι* *θαί*] the time would fail me, is too short to relate.

17 *ποιηταὶ τε αὐτῶν*] particularly as to the *Theban* war; *Antimachus* in *Plato's* time is said to have publish'd 24 books, only of the Preparations of the siege of *Thebes*. *Stan.* V. i. p. 126. *Æschylus* the Tragedian in his *ἐπὶ τῇ Θήβαις*. *Sophocles* in his *Ἐπίποιοι* and *Ἀρηγόη*, *Euripides* in his *Θανίστοι*. -- As to the troubles of the *Heraclidae*, *Euripides* has a Tragedy with that title.

18 *μυμνήσκον*] It was usual for Poets to recite their compositions at the publick Games of Greece. *Archæol.* V. i. p. 445.

ib. *ἐν μουσικῇ*] viz. *τίχῃ* or *ἐπισήμῃ*, in poetry.

19 *λόγῳ ψιλῷ*] in meer naked prose.

- 26 20 πᾶς ἂν δεικταί φανοίμεθα] *I should doubtless make but a low and mean appearance.*
 21 ἐπειδὴ οὐ ἔχει τὴν ἀξίαν] (*viz.* πῶς) *as justice hath been done to them --- or although they merit it ---*
- 27 1 ἐπὶ ἡμῶν ἀμνηστία] *not absolutely so; for how then could he pretend to give an account of them? but in a way of being forgot for want of being celebrated by some eminent Genius.*
 ib. λαῶν ἔχει] *i. e.* ἑλᾶσαν.
 2 μοι δεκά --- ἐπαινῶνται] *N.B.* the transition from the *Dative* to the *Accusative*.
 ib. ἐπισημαίνοντα] *to make mention of.*
 3 προμινύμενοι] *exhorting, persuading.*
 6 πρῶτα] (*viz.* ταῦτα.)
 ib. Πέρσης ὑγυμίνης τῆς Ἀσίας] *particularly that part of Asia minor which was peopled by Grecian Colonies, Æolia, Ionia, Caria and Doris.*
 8 ἔχον] *check'd the progress of ---*
 ib. οἱ τῆςδε τῆς χώρας ἐκγενοί] *alluding to their favorite title Ἀντίχθους.*
 10 μεμνημένος] *viz.* ἡμῶς implied in the preceding ἡμῖν.
 12 εἰς ἐκείνῳ τῷ χρόνῳ γινόμενον λόγῳ] *must make a digression, and carry himself back to that juncture of time ---*
 13 τεῖτε ἤδη βασιλεῖ] *viz.* Darius the son of Hystaspes; for Cyrus was the founder of the Persian Monarchy; --- to him succeeded Cambyzes; --- and (after a short interval) Darius.
 14 ἐλευθερώσας Πέρσης] *see Hind. p. 237 &c. Prideaux Connect. P. 1. B. 2. Rollin. V. 2. B. 4. c. 1. who chiefly follow Xenophon. But Plato seems here principally to regard the account given by Herodotus: according to which, Drioces was the founder of the Median Empire, and reign'd 53 years; he was succeeded by Phraortes who subdued the Persians, and a great part of Asia, and died after a reign of 22 years. His son Cyaxares divided Asia into distinct provinces or governments, and carried his conquests into Assyria, but was for a time interrupted in them by an invasion of Scythians into Asia, and died after a reign of 40 years. His son Astyages reigned 35 years, and was dethron'd by his grandson Cyrus; by whom the Empire of Asia was transferr'd from the Medes to his Countrymen the Persians. Herodot. L. 1. 95--131.*
 15 φρονίμως] *courage, resolution, good sense ---*
 17 μίχεται Αἰγύπτῳ] *according to Xenophon's account, Egypt likewise was render'd tributary to Cyrus.*

27 18 ὁ δὲ ἦν αὐτῷ] viz. *Cambyfes*.

ib. *Αἰγύπτου*] It is probable that after the death of *Cyrus Amasis K. of Egypt* endeavoured to shake off the *Persian* yoke: but he and his son *Psammenitus* failing in the attempt, all *Egypt* was reduced under the *Persian* Empire. *Rollin*, V. 2. B. 4. c. 2. &c. *Hind*. p. 249. *Prideaux*, V. 1. p. 235.

ib. ὅσων εἶναι τὴν ἐπιβάντων] alluding to the terrible destruction, which was made of his men in passing over the deserts of *Libya* by the torrents of sand which overwhelm'd them; and to the great distresses which another army of his suffer'd, for want of provisions, in his expedition against the *Ethiopians*. *Prideaux* ib. p. 239 &c. *Rollin* V. 2. B. 4. c. 2.

19 πλὴν] viz. *δυναμει*.

20 μέγας Σκυθῶν] Against the *Thracians* and *Getae* he succeeded, but was forc'd to retreat after an inglorious attempt against *Scythia*, or that Country which lies between the *Danube* and the *Tanais*. *Stan*. V. 1. p. 208. *Hind*. p. 262. *Prideaux* P. 1. B. 4. p. 275 &c. *Rollin* V. 3. B. 6. c. 1. §. 3.

21 τῆς τι θαλάσσης ἐκράτησι καὶ τῶν νήσων] *Prideaux* p. 284-291. *Stanyan* V. 1. p. 215. *Rollin* V. 3. B. 1. c. 6. §. 6. The Islands of the *Ægean* sea seem 'till this time to have enjoy'd each of them the benefit of their own Laws and Government.

28 1 αἱ γὰρ αἰδωμένας ἦσαν] *their very souls were so much enslaved that no one had thoughts of resisting* ---

2 ὅτω πολλὰ καὶ μεγάλα καὶ μέγιστα] Besides those already mention'd, *Darius* subdu'd *India*. *Rollin* V. 3. B. 6. c. 1. §. 5.

3 κατεδδωμένη ἦν] in an active sense, *had subdued* ---

4 ἡμῶς τι καὶ Ἐπρεμίας] The *Athenians* did actually joyn with and assist the *Ionians* in their revolt from the K. of *Persia*, with twenty ships, being induced thereunto by *Artaphernes's* giving shelter to *Hippias* the son of *Pisistratus*. *Rollin* V. 3. B. 6. c. 1. §. 6. *Prideaux* V. 1. p. 283.

ib. Ἐπρεμίας] They made themselves objects of the *Persians* resentment by sending 5 of their ships in conjunction with the *Athenians* in their expedition against *Sardes*. *Stan*. V. 1. p. 212. *Hind* p. 276. *Prideaux* P. 1. B. 4. p. 294.

ib. αἰτιασάμενος] *having resolved to quarrel with us, to find something to accuse us* ---

5 Σάρδεις] *Sardes* was the metropolis of *Lydia*, and the usual place of residence to the *Persian* Satrapa. ---

The

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The *Ionian* revoltors in conjunction with the *Athenians* and *Eretrians* made themselves masters of the town; when an *Ionian* soldier setting fire to one house, the rest being built most of cane took fire and were reduced to ashes, the castle only excepted; into which *Artaphernes* had retired with his Garrison, upon the taking of the town by the revoltors. Rollin V. 3. B. 6. c. 1. §. 6. Prideaux V. 1. p. 284.

ib. προφασίζομενος Σάρδισιν ἐπιβλυῖσθαι] alledging this as the particular pretext, that we had formed, (or rather executed) a design against Sardes.

7 πλοίοις καὶ ναυσὶ] the former transport ships, the latter ships of war.

9 εἰ βύλοιτο τὴν ἑαυτοῦ κεφαλὴν ἔχειν] if he had any thoughts of, or inclination to save his head.

12 οἱ τῶν τιτὶ Εὐβίων ἐν τοῖς εὐδοκίμοις ἦσαν] who were some of the most considerable people among the Grecians of that time for ---

13 ἐν τεσσάρων ἡμέραις] Others say that for six days the Persians were repuls'd with loss in their attempts to storm the City: but that on the 7th it was betray'd into their hands, plunder'd, and burnt. Stan. V. 1. p. 221. Hind. p. 292. Rollin V. 3. B. 6. c. 1. §. 7. Prideaux V. 1. p. 295.

16 Ερετριῆς] Eretria was not the principal city of Eubœa, but only the next to Chalcis: It stood upon the Euripus on the western side of the Island, and by the expression ἐν ἡμιτάτῃ εἰς ἡμίλειαν, it should seem that nearly half of the Island was under their Jurisdiction.

19 ἢ ἔχουσιν] that they might be able to ---

21 κωπηλαίοντες] were conducted viz. by Hippias. or simply descended from on shipboard into the plain of Marathon.

ib. Μαροθῶν] ten miles distant from Athens.

ib. ὡς ἱπποὶ σφίσιν ὄν] viz. χεῖροι, as being the most convenient place, viz. for their Cavalry. --- or, it may be the Accusative absolute, the same with ὡς ἱππῶν ὅτις πρὸς γυμνασίᾳ as being an easy matter to bring ---

29

1 ζυζυγμένους Ερετριῶσιν ἄγειν] With this intent the Persians are said to have come provided with a great number of fetters and chains. Rollin V. 3. c. 1. §. 7.

4 ἑταῖροι, πλὴν Λακεδαιμόνων] The Platæans excepted; for they furnish'd 1000 soldiers. The Athenians being sensible of the disproportion of their own forces to the Persian, dispatch'd messengers to Lacedæmon for their speedy assistance. The Lacedæmonians seem'd very willing to assist; but not being permitted to stir by their

- 29 their laws till the Full of the Moon, came not into the field till the day after the battle. *Stan.* V. 1. p. 221, 223. *Hind.* p. 292. *Rollin* V. 3. c. 1. §. 7.
- 5 τῇ ὑστερίᾳ τῆς μάχης] q. d. μετ' ἡμέτερον ὑστερον τῆς μάχης.
- 7 ἐν τούτῳ] sc. χρόνῳ.
- ib. ἀγαπᾶντες τὴν ἐν τῷ παρόντι σωτηρίαν] being contented with saving their lives for the present ---
- 9 διέβαινον] not that the Athenians waited to receive the enemy; but, small as their numbers were, (viz. 10,000 against 100,000 foot and 10,000 horse,) they gave the onset. *Rollin* V. 3. B. 6. c. 1. §. 7.
- 11 πρῶτοι εἴσαντες] viz. first of all the Grecians, who triumph'd over the Persian forces.
- 12 εἴσαντες τρόπαια τῶν Βαρβάρων] The Trophies of the Antients consisted chiefly of the armour and spoils of the vanquish'd enemy, hung upon the trunk of a tree and dedicated to some of the Gods. Sometimes Pillars of Stone were made use of. *Archæol.* V. 2. p. 111, 113. At this battle of *Marathon* the Persians had thought themselves so sure of victory, that they had brought marble in order to erect a Trophy there. The Grecians took this marble and caused a statue to be made of it by *Phidias* in honour of the Goddess *Nemesis*. *Rollin* V. 3. B. 6. c. 1. §. 7.
- ib. εἴσαντες τρόπαια τῶν Βαρβάρων] viz. λατρίαν ἢ καὶ τῶν Βαρβάρων.
- 14 ἀλλὰ πᾶν] i. e. ἀλλ' ὅτι πᾶν.
- 19 οὐ τῇδε τῇ ἡπείρῳ (viz. γῇ) in contradistinction to Asia.
- ib. ἔργον] that action, that atchievement ---
- 20 τὰς ὑστερας μάχας] viz. κατὰ τὰς &c.
- ib. ἐπιλμῆσαι] had the courage, the resolution, to ---
- 22 μαθηταὶ τῶν Μαραθῶν] viz. διακονηνομένων.
- 30 1 ἀεὶς τὰς τῷ λόγῳ ἀναθητίαν] As to the reward of the first and principal honours, I am in this Oration to distribute them to ---
- 2 τίς αὖτις Σαλαμῖνα ἢ ἐπ' Ἀρτεμισίῳ] Of the two fights here referr'd to, that at *Artemisium* happen'd first. *Artemisium* was a promontory in the north part of *Eubœa*. The Persians had design'd to surprise the Grecian fleet in the streights of *Eubœa* with a squadron of theirs; but by the advice of *Themistocles*, the Grecians set sail in the night, and by a counter-surprise fell in with them, took and sunk 30 ships and forc'd the rest to sea; where by strefs of weather they were all sunk and stranded. The next day the Persians bore down with the remaining part of their fleet upon that of the Grecians, which by the singular valour of the Athenians maintain'd the conflict, but was

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was so shatter'd in the engagement, as to be forc'd to quit this station in order to refit. *Stan.* V. i. p. 242. *Hind* p. 313. *Rollin* V. 3. B. 6. c. 2. §. 6.

2 περὶ Σαλαμῖνα] After the foregoing engagement the Persians coming up with their fleet invaded *Eubœa* and the neighbouring Coasts. *Xerxes* at the same time march'd thro' *Doris* and *Phocis* to *Bœotia* ravaging all before him. The Grecian confederates still continued upon the retreat, and the Athenians found themselves oblig'd to transport their wives and children and most valuable effects to *Træzene*, *Ægina* and *Salamis*; at the latter of which places (being a little island over against and near *Attica*) was the rendezvous of the Grecian fleet; where *Themistocles* partly by bullying the rest of the Grecian Commanders, and partly by stratagem, induc'd them to hazard an engagement with a much superior force of the Persians, and defeated them. *Stan.* V. i. p. 248. *Hind* p. 321. *Rollin* V. 3. c. 2. §. 8.

5 οἷα ἐπὶ ἑκαστῇ ἐπὶ μὲν αὐτῶν] what a series of dangers and difficulties, attacking them one after another, they sustained ---

8 τὴν ἑξῆς ἔργον τῆς Μαρονηῖς διαπράξεως] seconded the blow that was given by our Countrymen at *Marathon*.

ib. ἐπὶ τὴν ἑξῆς ἔργον &c.] viz. τὴν Ἑλληνικὴν σωτηρίαν as p. 31. l. 3.

9 οἱ Μαρονηῖς] i. e. οἱ ἐπὶ Μαρονηῖς μαχόμενοι.

13 πλὴθει] see *Lysias* p. 60. l. 2.

16 τὴν ἐκείνων φόβον] the fear which possessed them; or, which was near them; or, the fear which was connected with and arose from what is above mentioned, πλὴθει ἐκείνων &c.

31 2 τὴν ἐν Πλαταιαῖς ἔργον] After *Xerxes*'s retreat out of Greece, *Mardonius* stay'd behind and winter'd in *Thesfaly*. In the spring he offer'd very advantageous terms of peace to the Athenians; which being rejected with disdain, he enter'd *Attica* with fire and sword; whereupon the Athenians a second time deserted their city, and retir'd to *Salamis*. The joint forces of Greece, being now on their march towards him from *Peloponnesus*, he retreated into the plain-country of *Bœotia*, in order to put himself into a better posture of defence. The Grecian army was 120,000, under *Pausanias* the Lacedæmonian; The Persians 350,000, or, as others, 500,000. These latter attack'd the Lacedæmonian part of the army at a disadvantage, near the city of *Plataea*, but were repuls'd

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puls'd with vigour and forc'd into their intrenchments; when the *Athenians* coming up render'd the victory compleat. The very same day the *Athenians* and *Lacedæmonians* gave an entire defeat to another large army of *Persians* near *Mycale*, a promontory of *Ionian*, and burnt their shipping. *Stan.* V. 1. p. 255--266. *Hind* p. 353 &c. *Prideaux* P. 1. B. 4. p. 340. *Rollin* V. 3. B. 6. c. 2. §. 9.

2 ἔρπον --- ἡ Ἑλληνικὴ σωτηρία] viz. ὑπὲρ ---

5 τὴν μέγιστον ἐκ χαλεπώτατον (viz. περὶ γυμνῶν) οὗτοι πάντες ἡμῶν] These then, all of them ward off the greatest difficulty, namely, the danger with which the *Persians* threaten'd us ---

8. ὑπὸ τῶν ὕστερον] (viz. ἱσπανῶν ἐγκαταμάχοντων.)

9 πολλὰ μὲν πόλεις] The foregoing defeats of the *Persians* were followed by the revolt of all *Ionian*; which entering into a confederacy with the *Grecians* by their help maintain'd its liberty for the most part ever after, during the continuance of that empire. Besides this, the *Grecians* equipp'd a strong fleet, of which *Pausanias* the *Lacedæmonian* and *Aristides* the *Athenian* had the command; they sail'd first to *Cyprus*, and the next year to the *Hellepont* and other places, and freed many cities from the *Persian* garrisons, and restored them to their liberty (*Prideaux* B. 4. p. 348, 352. *Rollin* V. 3. B. 6. c. 2. §. 14.) But this giving liberty to the *Grecian* cities was chiefly effected by *Cimon* three years afterwards, who reduced several islands upon the coast of *Thrace*; and the next year after, sailing from *Athens* with a fleet of 200 sail, and augmenting it with 100 more from the *Asiatick* Allies, drove the *Persians* out of *Caria* and *Lycia*, destroyed their fleet in the mouth of the river *Eurymedon*, and the very same day landing his forces overthrew, and gain'd a compleat victory over their land army; He soon after surpris'd and destroy'd 80 *Phœnician* ships which were coming to join the *Persian* fleet. And the next year reduced the *Thracian Chersonesus* with several of the Isles adjacent. *Prideaux* B. 4. p. 358. *Rollin* V. 3. B. 7. c. 1. §. 3. *Stan.* V. 1. p. 265 and 289.

11 ἀποσέσθαι ὡς ἐπιχειροῦσα] to be meditating a design of invading ---

16 οὐκ ἐπὶ τῇ Εὐρυμίδων &c.] the sea fight at the mouth of the river *Eurymedon* in *Pamphylia* happen'd 7 years after one of their expeditions to *Cyprus*. *Stan.* V. 1.

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p. 272,

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p. 272, and 290. *Hind.* p. 346, and 367. *Prideaux* P. 1. B. 4. p. 348, 358.

17 *οἱ εἰς Κύπρον στρατεύσαντες καὶ οἱ εἰς Αἴγυπτον πλεύσαντες*] *Cyprus* was an island lying in the streights between *Cilicia*, *Syria* and *Egypt*. As the possession of it would on all occasions be a curb to the *Persian*, the *Athenians* sent thither a fleet of 200 sail; and in order to secure to themselves a greater command in those parts, join'd their forces with *Inarus* K. of *Lybia*, to support the *Egyptians* in their revolt from the *Persian*. Upon first landing in *Egypt* the *Athenians* routed the *Persians* and pursu'd them to *Memphis*, took two parts of the city, and block'd up the third. But after a siege of near three years they were oblig'd to desist, were themselves with their shipping block'd up in the *Nile*, and after great losses both of men and shipping with difficulty retired home, after near six years spent in this fruitless expedition. *Prideaux* V. 2. B. 5. p. 371, 442. *Stan.* V. 1. p. 310. *Hind* p. 377.

20 *χαρὰ αὐτοῖς ἰδὲναι ὅτι*] to retain and express a grateful sense of their services, in that they---

22 *ἀλλὰ μὴ* &c.] Accordingly, after the conquests of *Cimon*, *Xerxes* gave over all thoughts of the *Grecian* war; nor were any more of his ships seen in the *Ægean* sea, or any of his forces on the coasts adjoining to it, all the remainder of his reign. *Prideaux* P. 1. B. 4. p. 359.

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1 *πᾶσι τῇ πόλει*] The city being obliged to exert her whole force in the *Persian* war.

3 *Ἰωνῶν*] *Æolis* in *Asia minor* was inhabited by a colony of *Dorians* of *Laconia* after their expulsion out of *Peloponnesus* by the *Heraclidæ*; as was a great part of *Lesbos*. --- *Ionia* by a colony of *Ionians*, who being likewise expelled *Peloponnesus* return'd to *Athens* their original country, and in conjunction with other *Athenians* under *Nileus* and *Androcles* sons of *Codrus*, seiz'd upon that part of the coast of *Asia minor* which lies between *Caria* and *Lydia*. Other *Dorians* settled, some of them in *Crete*, but a much larger number in that part of *Asia minor*, which was from them called *Doris*, and in the adjacent islands of *Rhodes*, *Cos*, &c. *Rollin* V. 2. B. 5. Art. 5. Tho' there was a difference in the language of the inhabitants of these several districts of *Asia minor* and the Islands, as also between those of proper *Greece*, yet as they were all derived from and grounded upon the same original tongue, it proved a mighty cement

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ment to unite them in one common interest, as it suggested that they were all related to each other in their origin.

5 ὁ δὲ φίλοι --- πῶς ἐπὶ τῇ περὶ πλεονεξίᾳ] *what usually happens to persons in prosperity.*

7 πρῶτον μὲν ζήλος &c.] Soon after the victories gain'd over the *Persians* at *Plataea* and *Mycale*, the chief commander of the *Lacedæmonian* forces *Pausanias* by his haughtiness gave the *Grecian* confederates such ill impressions of the *Lacedæmonian* dominion, that they all, except the *Peloponnesians*, put themselves under the protection of the *Athenians*, and gave them liberty to rate all the cities in such proportion of ships and money, as they thought necessary for the support of the war. This transferring of the command of *Greece* occasion'd no small jealousy in the *Lacedæmonians*, and laid the foundation of such discontent as afterwards broke out into an open rupture; particularly on occasion of the *Lacedæmonians* dismissing in a fit of jealousy a body of *Athenians* from their service, whom they had sent for to assist them in quelling an insurrection of their slaves, as *Thucydides* relates B. 2. *Stanyan* V. 1. p. 272 &c. *Rollin* V. 3. B. 6. c. 2. §. 14.

10 συνιστάμενοι ἐν Τανάγρα] The quarrel, which occasion'd this engagement, lay between the *Phocians* and the *Dorians*; to the assistance of which latter, the *Lacedæmonians*, as being originally descended from them, sent 11500 men. These forces soon brought the *Phocians* to terms; but staying in *Bæotia* were attack'd about *Tanagra* a city nor far distant from *Thebes*, by the *Athenians*; the slaughter on both sides was considerable, and the victory turn'd in favour of the *Lacedæmonians*. About two months after this defeat, the *Athenians* march'd into *Bæotia* under *Myronides*, and intirely routed the inhabitants with those *Lacedæmonian* forces, which were left, at a place called *Oenophyta*, or the Vineyards, took *Tanagra* by storm and demolish'd it; and overran the greatest part of *Bæotia*, *Phocis* and *Locris Opuntia*. *Stan.* V. 1. p. 302, &c. *Hind.* p. 381.

ib. ὑπὲρ τῶν Βαιωτῶν ἐλευθερίας] The *Thebans*, who had for some time been under disgrace, upon account of their joining with *Xerxes* in the *Persian* war, and now found themselves despised and their authority disown'd by the rest of the *Bæotians*, desir'd the assistance of the *Lacedæmonians* to reduce all *Bæotia* under

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der the Dominion of *Thebes*: promising them that, if they would assist them in that desire, they would maintain the war against the *Athenians* at their own charge. The *Lacedæmonians*, by the forces which they then had at *Tanagra*, enlarg'd the extent of the city *Thebes*, and forc'd the other cities of *Bœotia* to submit to her authority. This occasion'd the *Athenians* to march out and engage the *Lacedæmonians* at *Oenophyta*. *Hind* p. 382.

10 *ὅτι τὸ Βοιωτῶν ἰλυθρίας*] *Thucydides* gives another reason for the *Athenians* attacking the *Lacedæmonian* forces at *Tanagra* viz. their having a design to second and support the attempts of some of their own citizens to subvert the *Democracy*. B. 2. *Rollin* V. 3. B. 7. c. 1. §. 8.

ib. *συνίκαλοι*] viz. *ἡμίτεροι πολίται* implied in τῶν πόλει l. 8. *συνίκαλοι* viz. *μέγλην*.

12 *δίκασαι τὸ ὅτι τὸν ἔργον*] see not. l. 10.

13 *οἱ μὲν ἔχοντο ἀπὸ τῆς* &c] This is agreeable to what *Thucydides* says, that the *Lacedæmonians* (I suppose the main part of them) went home after the battle at *Tanagra*.

14 *Βοιωτὸς οἷς ἰσὶ*] viz. the *Thebans* and their Party; for the *Athenians* likewise engaged *ὅτι τὸ Βοιωτῶν ἰλυθρίας*.

15 *τετὴν ἡμέραν*] *Diodorus Siculus*, who is very particular in his account of this expedition, has nothing which corresponds to this expression; *Thucydides* says that the *Athenians* set out upon this expedition *δυοτὴν ἡμέραν* after the battle at *Tanagra*.

16 *τοὺς ἀδικῶς φεύγοντας*] those that had been injuriously forc'd to fly their Country, in order to escape the tyranny of the *Thebans*.

17 *αἰῶνι*] N. B. the repetition of this word l. 22.

19 *ἀνδρὲς ἀγαθοὶ γινόμενοι*] *Diodorus Siculus* speaks of this action at *Tanagra* as little, if at all, inferior to those at *Marathon* and *Platea*.

33

1 *πολλὸν πόλεμον γινόμενον*] a great, a general war arising --- for the first grounds of the *Peloponnesian* war here referr'd to, see *Stan.* V. 1. p. 320, 326. *Hind* p. 400, &c. 405, 411. *Rollin* V. 3. B. 7. c. 1. §. 13, 14.

ib. *πάντων τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἐπιστρατευσάντων*] The *Lacedæmonians* had secur'd almost all *Peloponnesus* on their side, at the beginning of the *Peloponnesian* war; together with the *Megareans*, *Phocians*, *Locrians*, *Bœotians*, *Ambraciots*, *Leucadians* and *Anactorians*: On the *Athenian* side were the *Chians*, *Lesbians*, *Plateans*, *Messenians* inhabiting *Naupactus*, *Acarnanians*, *Corcyraeans* and *Zacynthians*;

- 33 *Cynthians*; besides great part of the *Asiatick Grecians* on the sea coast, several towns of *Thrace*, with most of the lesser Islands, and tributary cities in general. *Stan. V. 1. p. 333. Rollin V. 3. B. 7. c. 3. §. 11.*
- 2 *πρότερον τῆς μάχης*] for the *Athenians* not being able to face the *Lacedaemonians* with their land forces, by the advice of *Pericles* brought into *Athens* all their families and effects out of the country, together with the very timber of their houses, which they pull'd down; and convey'd away their cattle into *Eubœa* and the neighbouring isles. So that the forces of the *Lacedaemonians* could make no other havock in the country but by *τίπτεν τὴν χώραν* cutting down the trees, corn, &c. *Rollin V. 3. B. 7. c. 3. §. 1. Stan. V. 1. p. 385.*
- 3 *ἀντάκιον χάριν ἐπιτιμῶντων*] making a very ungrateful return to ---
- 4 *ναυπηγία*] The *Athenians* having at the commencement of the war a fleet of 300 Gallies, by *Pericles's* advice they placed their main confidence in exerting their maritime force, and with part of it lay'd waste the territories of *Laconia*, and with the rest overaw'd the allies on whom contributions were levied. *Rollin V. 3. p. 344.*
- ib. *νικησάντες αὐτοὺς &c*] The action here hinted at was one of the most signal in all the *Peloponnesian* war, tho' the number of *Lacedaemonians* (being only 420) immediately concerned in it was but small: it happen'd in the 7th year of the war; when upon the *Lacedaemonians* endeavouring to dispossess the *Athenians* of *Pylus*, a naval engagement was fought, in which the *Athenians* were victorious and enclosed a select body of *Lacedaemonians*, who had thrown themselves into *Sphacteria*, and reduc'd those, who survived the several skirmishes, (being 292) to the extremity of surrendring prisoners at discretion, and carried them to *Athens*. *Rollin V. 3. p. 384. Stan. V. 1. p. 367.*
- 6 *ὡς τῇ Σφαγίᾳ*] *Sphagia* was another name of the island *Sphacteria*, as we are informed by *Strabo B. 8.*
- 7 *εἰρήνην ἐπιθυμῶντες*] The *Lacedaemonians* su'd to the *Athenians* for peace, when first their countrymen were block'd up in the island *Sphacteria*, upon their finding themselves unable to relieve them: But the *Athenians* being very insolent in their demands, the *Lacedaemonians* chose to continue the war, and in two years got so much advantage, that the *Athenians* grew more moderate, and came to terms of peace for 50 years,

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years, the chief Articles being that "the Garrisons should be evacuated, and the Towns and Prisoners restor'd on both sides." During all this while the *Lacedæmonian* prisoners taken in *Sphacteria* had remain'd prisoners at *Athens*. *Stan.* V. 1. p. 365--382.

- 9 *μη δ' ἔργῳ ἰδίῳ τῇ πόλει*] This was remarkably the disposition of the *Athenians*, when *Themistocles* had formed a scheme to supplant the *Lacedæmonians* and burn the fleet belonging to the rest of the *Grecian* States; which motion was quash'd at the representation of *Aristides*, *Rollin* V. 3. B. 6. c. 2. And afterwards when *Ephialtes* advised them to take an advantage of the distress into which the *Lacedæmonians* were thrown by the terrible Earthquake which lay'd waste most of the cities of *Laconia*, and by the insurrection of their slaves, *Cimon* supported the interest of *Lacedæmon*, and procured himself to be sent to its succour with 4000 men. *Rollin* V. 3. B. 7. c. 1. §. 8.

10 *τὴ κοινῇ τῶν Ἑλλήνων διαλλύου*] weaken, and so in effect destroy the common interest of the *Grecians*.

13 *ὅτι ἰσχυροῦντο, ἅντι*] Because they shew'd, that if any one should dispute the matter and insist, that in the former war against the Barbarians some other people were braver men than the *Athenians*, they would insist upon what was not true. N. the transition from the singular number l. 14. to the plural l. 16.

17 *μισαίας τῇ Ἑλλάδι*] when Greece became divided within itself.

20 *εἰς αὐτὴν καὶ νῦν*] viz. νίκη or δυνάμει.

34

1 *τέρας δὲ πόλεμος*] He is speaking of the wars which the *Athenians* had with the other *Grecians*. The first whereof was between them and the *Lacedæmonians* and *Boeotians*, mention'd p. 32. l. 9; The *Peloponnesian* war p. 32. l. 22. is the second; the *Sicilian* (tho' it is usually reckon'd a part of the *Peloponnesian*) the third.

2 *ἀνελπίστους τοῖς ὅσιν*] terrible in it's consequences and contrary to all our hopes and expectations, the *Athenians* losing in it their best Generals, Fleets and Armies; which losses drew after them the ruin of *Athens* itself. *Stan.* V. 1. p. 423. And this seems the most obvious and true reason why this expression is here used; tho' by an Oratorical turn another is assign'd l. 15.

3 *τελευτήσαντες ἐνθάδε πάντες*] tho' they died in *Sicily*, yet the bodies of the dead might be, as they usually were, reduc'd to ashes, in order to be convey'd to their Relations and interr'd at home; or at least a Cenotaphium

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taphium might be erected for them. *Archæol.* V. 2. p. 102.

5 *ὡς τῆς Συρακῶν*] The quarrel in *Sicily* between *Syracuse* and *Leontium* began about 5 years before the peace concluded between the *Lacedæmonians* and *Athenians*. Those cities form'd their confederacies in order to carry on a vigorous war: And the *Leontines* on pretence of consanguinity (being originally of *Chalcis*, an *Athenian* colony) and antient alliances, drew over the *Athenians* to their party. And the *Athenians* were glad to have a footing in the island upon any terms, both to hinder the transporting of corn from thence to *Peloponnesus*, and to see if there were any possibility of subduing it for themselves. *Stan.* V. 1. p. 362. After the expedition against *Melos* they engaged in the war in earnest. *Nicias* the chief commander carried the victory in some actions against the *Syracusians*, and gain'd ground in the island, and was upon the point of carrying the city itself by siege; but *Gylippus* arriving with succours from *Lacedæmon*, a surprising turn was given to the affair; and by repeated losses in several engagements the *Athenians* were forc'd to raise the siege, with the loss of all their shipping; and all the surviving soldiers being oblig'd to surrender Prisoners at discretion, were us'd with great hardships, and at length sold for slaves. *Stan.* V. 1. p. 399--423. *Rollin* V. 3. B. 8. c. 1. §. 5. &c.

8 *ὡς δὲ συμμαχίας αὐτοῖς ὑπερτεῖν*] tho' the *Athenians* did send supplies according to the request of *Nicias*, yet they unfortunately came too late, *Nicias* himself having been defeated the day before, as the supplies were the day after. *Stan.* V. 1. p. 412.

10 *ὡς οἱ ἐχθροὶ &c.*] *ἱκανοὶ ἔχουσιν* for *ἱκανῶς*. *Whose moderation and courage our very enemies are more ready to praise, than other people are apt to do that of their friends.* This sentence is much embarrass'd: the literal and common version *quorum hostes --- majorem temperantia virtutisque laudem, quàm amici aliorum habent* is not intelligible in the last part; and the former part is contrary to *Thucydides*'s account, who represents the behaviour of the *Athenian*'s Enemies on this occasion to have been excessively insolent and cruel B. 8. --- Or it may be, *ὡς* (viz. *δὲ ὡς*) *οἱ ἐχθροὶ &c.* by which misfortune our enemies gain'd (unjustly) a greater reputation for their moderation and courage, than the friends of the other party, i. e. than We, who out of

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a generous principle of friendship engaged in their defence.

12 *ὅς τις ναυμαχίας τὰς κατ' Εὐβοίαν, μὲν μὲν ἡμεῖς &c.]*

The great losses which the *Athenians* sustain'd in the *Sicilian* war, were follow'd by the revolt of several places towards the *Hellepont*. The *Athenians* for the recovery thereof sent out as good a fleet as they could equip; which under the command of *Thrasyllus* and *Thrasybulus*, fell in with *Mindarus* the *Lacedæmonian* Admiral, and defeated him at *Cynos Sema*: and not long after they gave the *Lacedæmonians* a second defeat near *Abydus*, whereby they not only recover'd their own Gallies, but took thirty belonging to the Enemy. But the most decisive blow was struck by *Alcibiades* before the port of *Cyzicus*, whereby the *Athenians* took all the enemies ships, secured to themselves the *Hellepont*, and drove the *Lacedæmonians* out of all the other seas. *Stan. V. i. p. 425--431.*

13 *πίπτες τὰς τῶν πολέμιων ἰσότητας ναῦς, πολλὰς δὲ καὶ ἄλλας κηρύττει.*] making themselves masters of all the ships, which the enemy had remaining, having before that time taken and destroyed many more.

16 *τὴν δὲ πρῶτην &c.]* The defeat of the *Athenians* in *Sicily* was followed by a general defection of their old Allies, and a confederacy of the other *Grecians* against them, having the *Lacedæmonians* at their head: and a league was concluded between the King of *Persia* and the *Lacedæmonians*. *Stan. V. i. p. 424.* This good understanding was afterwards improved by the negotiations of *Lysander*, (see also p. 436.) who taking advantage of *Alcibiades*'s absence from the *Athenian* navy gain'd an intire victory and took 15 *Athenian* Gallies. Upon which *Alcibiades* fell into disgrace, and was succeeded in his command by ten Generals, (the principal whereof was *Conon*.) *Lysander* was succeeded by *Callicratidas*; who pursu'd *Conon* into the port of *Mitylene* with 170 sail, took 30 of his ships, and besieged him in the town, from which he cut off all provisions; He soon after took ten more out of twelve, which were coming to his relief. Then hearing that the *Athenians* had fitted out their whole strength, consisting of 150 sail, he left 50 of the ships to carry on the siege of *Mitylene*, and with 120 met the *Athenians* near the *Arginusæ* (Islands) over-against *Lesbos*. After a long and obstinate fight, the *Lacedæmonian* Admiral was sunk, and the rest fled:
The

- 34 The Peloponnesians lost about 70 sail, and the Athenians 25, with most of the men in them. *Stan. V. i. p. 436, &c. Rollin V. 4. p. 35.*
- 18 ὅτι τολμήσας ἐχθρῶ ἐπικηρυχθῆναι] so as, in defiance of every thing that is virtuous, to send an Embassy to negotiate an alliance with our most inveterate enemy.
- 35 2 οἰομένη γὰρ] viz. τὰν ἄλλων Ἑλλήνων p. 34. l. 18.
- 7 ἀναξίως τύχης ὅσα ἀναιρηθέντες ἐν τῇ θάλαττῃ] After the fight at Arginusa the Athenian Admirals, who had the joint command of the fleet, were accused of suffering their men, who were shipwreck'd, to be lost, when they might have saved them: and eight of the ten were condemn'd, and six of them put to death: Socrates, into whose mouth Plato has put this expression, was utterly against this usage of the Admirals: and indeed the Athenians themselves afterwards repented of what they had done. *Rollin V. 4. p. 38, &c. Stan. V. i. p. 438.*
- 9 οὐκ αὖτις ἐοικὸς] Qu. how could that be, if they were ἀναιρηθέντες ἐν τῇ θάλαττῃ? either their carcases might be taken up afterwards; --- or their having a Cenotaphium erected for them might answer the supposed purpose of giving rest to their departed shades. *Archæol. V. 2. p. 225.*
- 14 ὁ ἀληθὴς λόγος] and such sentiments were well founded.
- 15 τῇ δὲ ἡμετέρῃ αὐτῶν ἀλαφροῦ ἐκροπήσας] referring to those advantages which the Lacedæmonians and their confederates made of the civil dissensions of the Athenians. *Thus. L. 8. c. 95.*
- 17 ἡμεῖς δὲ αὐτοὶ &c.] The Athenian fleet sent out against Lysander, the Lacedæmonian Admiral, consisted of 180 sail, and several times offer'd him battle, which Lysander as oft declined; but he afterwards watch'd his opportunity of making his attack when the men were landed, and in the confusion made himself master of the whole Fleet and took 3000 Prisoners. This was follow'd by the siege of Athens, whereby the Athenians being reduced to the last extremity were forc'd to submit to the hard conditions offer'd by the Lacedæmonians; namely, to relinquish their fortresses; to demolish their walls; to deliver up all their ships but 12; restore their Exiles; to enter into a league offensive and defensive with the Lacedæmonians, and serve them in all their expeditions by sea and land. *Stan. V. i. p. 440, &c. Rollin V. 4. p. 51, &c.*
- 19 εἴπερ ἀμνηστῶν ἔσθ' ἂν] if it should be the fate.

35 20 ὁ δὲ αἰνῶς ἡμῖν πόλεμος; &c] After the surrender of *Athens*, *Lysander* quite alter'd the *Athenian* constitution and erected a Government commonly known by the name of the *Thirty Tyrants*, who having a guard assign'd them from *Lacedæmon*, acted without controul in all kinds of violence and oppression: but this not seeming sufficient for their security, they imparted some share of their Authority to 3000 Citizens, and by their means disarm'd the rest. This ill usage occasion'd multitudes to leave the city and live in exile in different parts of *Greece*. *Thrasybulus* at the head of a small party, began the opposition by seizing upon *Phyle*, a strong castle on the frontiers of *Attica*; His numbers soon encreased; and some skirmishes he had with success. The *Thirty* being alarmed thereby, fortified *Eleusis* to serve them upon any sudden exigency, as a place of retreat; and to free themselves from any jealousy the inhabitants thereof might give them, they caus'd all that were able to bear arms, to pass One by One, as it were to compute the strength of the garrison, and murder'd them. --- *Thrasybulus* after this finding his numbers still encreasing, seiz'd on the *Piræus*, and defeated the 30 who attempted to drive them from thence. A truce ensuing *Thrasybulus* expostulated with his opposers in so pathetical a manner, that the 3000 deposed the *Thirty*, and invested *Ten* men, one out of each tribe, with the administration: --- these pursu'd the same measures of injustice and oppression; ---- and joining counsels with the *Thirty* who had retir'd to *Eleusis*, determin'd the utter destruction of those in the *Piræus*; and in this scheme were supported and aided by the *Lacedæmonians*; The *Athenians* in the *Piræus* are routed, and at length at the instances of *Pausanias* the *Lacedæmonian* General a peace between those in the city and those in the *Piræus* was establish'd on condition that every man should return home except the *Thirty*, and *si Eudæmon*, and the *Ten* more who had commanded in the *Piræus*, and if any of the City apprehended themselves to be obnoxious, they might be free to retire with them to *Eleusis*: -- After which the Democracy was restor'd. --- But the Faction at *Eleusis* still continuing to make fresh attempts against the city and that by means of foreign troops, the whole city went out against them, and having taken off their commanders, the rest were easily brought

- 35 brought to an accommodation; and a general Amnesty was pass'd, whereby every man obliged himself by oath to bury what was pass'd in oblivion; which being religiously observed the city was restor'd to its former tranquillity, and its members were again united into one body. *Stan. V. 2. p. 2---21. Rollin V. 4. p. 66, &c.*
- 36 1 νοστήται] *Factions and Seditions are the diseases of the body Politick.*
- 2 ὡς ἀσμένως & οἰκίως] *with the greatest readiness and friendliness came to a reconciliation with each other, and were again united into one body. see the pathetic speech of Thrasybulus, which occasion'd this reconciliation. Xenoph. L. 2. ad finem.*
- 4 παρ' ἐλπίδων] (*viz. ἐλπίζομένη*) *τοῖς ἄλλοις --- contrary to the expectations of, or what was hoped for by the other ---*
- 9 τελευτησάντων ὑπ' ἀλλήλων] *It has been observ'd that this sedition prov'd more fatal to the Athenian state than the War: there were 1400 citizens put to death without hearing, and those chiefly of men of note and condition; and on the whole, as many more lives were consumed in this eight month's fury, as in the Peloponnesian War of ten years. Stan. V. 2. p. 22.*
- 10 ἀλλὰ τίθεν ὑψαῖς καὶ θυσίαις] *Men were thought to retain the same affections after death, which they had entertained while alive. Archæol. V. 2. p. 240. and these honours of prayers and sacrifices, being offered by the friends of the deceased, were thought very acceptable to departed souls, and might therefore answer the purpose here mention'd of reconciling them to each other. Concerning the sacrifices and oblations offer'd upon this occasion, see Archæol. V. 2. p. 235.*
- ib. ἀλλὰ τίθεν αὐτοῖς &c.] *do our utmost to bring them to a reconciliation, praying and sacrificing upon these occasions to those Powers, which have the command and direction over them; inasmuch as we ourselves are reconciled. Platonis sententia est animis in vitalem hanc prodeuntibus lucem contribui dæmonem, qui sit actionum inspector omnium, & cogitationum quoque diligens explorator: quique corporeo exolutis nexu assistat semper &c. Cæl. Rhodigin. Lect. Antiq. L. 2. c. 10.*
- 12 ἀλλήλων ἡψώμεθ'] *used such violence towards each other.*
- 16 συγγνώμην ἔχομεν] *us'd in a double sense, are excused for what we did; excuse others παράχομεν συγγν. for what we suffered.*

- 36 *παισιλῆς ἡμῶν*] *Athens* for some time continu'd very quiet with its neighbours, endeavouring to recover itself from its late confusions in the government at home. *Stan. V. 2. p. 54.*
- 21 *οὐκ εὐδαιμόνως ἡμῶν*] *made no inconsiderable or poor defence.*
- 37 2 *πῶς τι ναῦς περιλλόμενοι*] viz. by the terms of the Peace which *Lyfander* gave the *Athenians*.
- 3 *πολ'*] viz. the fight at *Salamis*.
- 4 *ὡς δ' ὦν*] namely, by leaving their city a second time to be ravaged by *Mardonius*, when they might have made very advantageous terms for themselves, by giving up the *Peloponnesians*. *Stan. V. 1. 255.*
- 19 *οἱ σφίσινοι δὲ ἤδη ἔργον ἔσται*] *that now was the proper time of executing their scheme of enslaving others.*
- 11 *ταῦτ' ἐπετίθεν*] *exerted themselves in the execution of this scheme.*
- 12 *ὡς δὲ πολλῶν ἀνθρώπων*] viz. *αἰ* in the same sense as when used with *πολλῶν γένων*, or *πολλῶν χρόνων*.
- 15 *ἀφικνεῖσθαι εἰς χεῖρας τῆ πόλεως*] *came to crave the assistance of our city.* The truth was, that the K. of *Persia*, being alarmed by the formidable preparations of the *Lacedaemonians* against him under so able a commander as *Agessilaus*, practised with the leading men of the principal cities of *Greece* to take advantage of their disaffection to the absolute and tyrannical government of the *Lacedaemonians*, and to make a diversion at home. The *Thebans* first came into the scheme; and after them the *Argives* and *Corinthians* with their dependents. The *Athenians* tho' they took no share of the *Persian* money were easily brought to engage in a rupture of this kind. *Stan. V. 2. p. 70.*
- 16 *Βαλάναι δὲ παλαιῖ, Ἀργεῖαι*] The *Argives* as we are inform'd by *Diod. Sic.* challeng'd to themselves a pre-cedency among the States of *Greece*, on account of the great Antiquity and Wealth of their state.
- 17 *τίς δὲ θαυμάσιον*] *what was very extraordinary and surprizing.*
- 18 *ὡς τὰν ἀπορίας ἀφικνέσθαι*] *was reduced to such straits and difficulties*, namely, by the great successes of *Agessilaus* in *Asia*. *Stan. V. 2. p. 53, &c.*
- ib. *ὡς περὶ τὴν αὐτῶν*] viz. *τὴν περὶ τὴν αὐτῶν* so that his affairs received such an unexpected turn, that ---
- 38 2 *τὸ ὑπὸ τῆς ἡγεμονίας*] *the guardian and protector of the helpless ---*
- ib. *καὶ δὲ &c.*] *And accordingly at that time, a juncture of*

38 of such imminent danger to the liberty of Greece, it was unable to barden itself any longer in its determination ---

6 αὐτὴ βοηθούσα] *Athens* yet awhile acted only as an auxiliary, see l. 15.

8 μέχρ' ἢ] viz. by the peace of *Antalcidas*.

11 φυγάδας] *Conon* ever since his defeat at *Ægospotamos* had lived in voluntary exile; and during that time made it his business to ingratiate himself with the *Persians*, in hopes, by them, to gain an opportunity of retrieving the misfortunes of his country. And it was chiefly by his advice that the confederacy against the *Lacedæmonians* was spirited up. But the most signal service which he did his country, was by obtaining a joint command of the *Persian* fleet together with *Pharnabazus*, and thereby defeating the *Lacedæmonians* near *Cnidus*. *Conon* follow'd this blow by making a descent upon the maritime towns of *Laconia*, and ravaging the country. *Stan.* V. 2. p. 67--81.

13 ομολογούντως ἴστωσι] agreeably hereunto *Corn. Nepos* observes in his life of *Conon*, *neque vero non fuit apertum, si ille non fuisset, Agesilaum Asiam Tauro tenus Regi fuisse erepturum.*

- ib. τηχυσμένη & ταπηγυσμένη] after the foremention'd achievements *Conon* sail'd home, and, with money, which he had procured from the *Persian* court, repair'd the fortifications and rebuilt the walls of *Athens*. *Stan.* V. 2. p. 81.

14 ἐνδεξαμένη τ' πόλεμον] expecting to be attack'd ---

15 πολεμῶν] to declare war as a principal; which the *Athenians* do not seem to have done, till the sending out *Thrasybulus* to secure the islands of the *Ægean* sea in the interest of the *Athenians*; which had thrown off the *Lacedæmonian* yoke immediately after *Conon's* victory at *Cnidus*; from which time both *Diodorus Siculus* and *Xenophon* date the fall of the *Lacedæmonian* empire at sea. The expedition of *Thrasybulus* was made above three years afterwards.

ib. νηὶ Παρίων] *Parus* was an Island in the *Ægean* sea, one of those call'd *Cyclades*; and was more considerable for its wealth and power than for its extent. What was the particular case of the *Parians* here refer'd to, is not said either by *Diodorus Sic.* or *Xenophon*. This island, tho' immediately after the retreat of *Darius* it baffled the attack of *Miltiades*, yet afterwards became dependent upon *Athens*, and had its

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its polity regulated upon the *Athenian* plan; which after *Lyfander's* victory gave place to that of *Lacedæmon*. *Conon*, as has been already observed, after his victory at *Cnidus* went round the isles of the *Ægean* sea and expelled from thence the *Lacedæmonian* Governours; which an *Athenian* might well call engaging in their defence ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν. This passage more probably refers to something which gave immediate occasion either to the expedition of *Thrasylbulus*, or *Chabrias*; the latter of which is said to have gain'd a signal victory over the *Lacedæmonian* fleet between the islands *Naxus* and *Parus*. *Diod. Sic. L. 15.* and *Xenoph. Eccl. L. 5.*

18 ἐξήτει] demanded to have given up to him.

20 ὑπὲρ σφίτερον &c.] viz. in the 20th year of the *Peloponnesian* war they agreed to give up all the places, which had been held by the K. of *Persia* or by his ancestors; which was in effect to make him master of the greatest part of *Greece*. *Rollin V. 4. B. 8. c. 2.* and afterwards by the negotiation of *Antalcidas* they proposed to give up the *Grecian* cities in *Asia*. *Stan. V. 2. p. 82.*

21 ἡ μάλιστα συμφέρον] as the condition of his continuing his alliance; Or, if it was expected that he should continue it.

39

2 τῶν μὲν ἄλλων συμφέρον ἐψέδωκε] He was mistaken in the rest of the allies.

4 Κορίνθιοι καὶ Ἀργεῖοι καὶ Βοιωτοί] *Xenophon* relates that they all were as much averse to a peace upon those terms, as the *Athenians*.

9 τίς γε γενναῖον καὶ ἐλευθερίον] this principle of generosity and freedom.

11 ἀμιγρῶς] without any mixture.

12 ἡ γὰρ Πίλοπος, ἐδὲ Κάδμου, ἐδὲ Αἰζοπτοῦ καὶ Δαναοῦ] This is said with respect to the people mentioned l. 4. *Pelops* was son of *Tantalus* K. of *Sipylus* in *Phrygia*: having been worsted in war by *Ilus* he fled for refuge to *Oenomaus* K. of *Pisa* in *Elis*; where he succeeded him in the Kingdom by marrying his daughter *Hippodamia*: by her he had a numerous issue, by whose marriages and a reign of 58 years, he got footing in most parts of the peninsula, calling it from himself *Peloponnesus*. *Stan. V. 1. p. 31.* *Ægyptus* and *Danaus* were two Brothers; the latter upon account of ill usage fled into *Peloponnesus*, and seiz'd the Kingdom of *Argos*; *Ægyptus* follow'd him thither; whose son *Lyceus* succeeded him in the Kingdom. *Stan. V. 1.*

- 39 p. 25. *Cadmus* is well known to have come from *Phœnicia*, and to have fixed the seat of his power and dominion at *Thebes* in *Bœotia*. *Stan. V. 1. p. 121.*
- 12 ἀμυγῆς τῶν βαρβάρων] see *Pericl. p. 4. l. 18.*
- 17 ἐστίμηκε] in firmly rivetted and incorporated with ---
- 20 ἰσθόντες ἐς τὸν αὐτὸν] being reduced to the same circumstances and deserted by the rest of the *Grecians*.
- 21 τοσούτους ἐπολιμεθίμην] viz. by *Lysander*.
- 40 2 πῶς ἡμετέρας &c.] see *Chronol. Tab. 3618.*
- ib. ἀπὸ ἀλλήλων ἔπαυσε πολέμου] viz. by the peace of *Antalcidas*. The *Athenians* were harass'd on all sides by a kind of piratical war without bringing things to a general issue, sometimes infested by the people of *Ægina*, then insulted by some of the other Islanders, and then by the *Lacedæmonians*. *Stan. V. 2. p. 89.*
- 3 ὅπως ἀναπαύσας ἀπὸ πολέμου] were no less glad to get rid of the war. For the *Lacedæmonians* had more garrisons than they could maintain, saw their confederates revolting from them, and were, as most of the other *Grecian* states were, drain'd of their men and money. *Stan. V. 2. p. 89.*
- 6 ἐν Κορίνθῳ χρησαμένην δύναμει] Soon after the confederacy was formed against the *Lacedæmonians*, a battle was fought in the territories of *Corinth*, wherein the *Lacedæmonian* allies were almost entirely routed; but the *Lacedæmonians* themselves maintain'd their ground, and pressed so hard upon the *Athenians*, who were directly opposite to them, that they recovered the day and beat the *Athenians* with the loss only of eight men. *Stan. V. 2. p. 77.* which makes it probable that the defeat was occasioned as is here intimated, by their δύναμει having a great disadvantage in the ground.
- 6 ἐν Λεχαιῶν προσόδοις] *Lechaum* was a haven belonging to and adjoining to *Corinth*. --- The more wealthy part of the *Corinthians* soon grew tired of the war against the *Lacedæmonians*, because the chief seat of it lay in their territories, and were inclinable to a peace: This was opposed by the magistrates and others in the *Athenian* interest, by whose contrivance a massacre was made of several of the principal inhabitants: They who escaped, managed so as to let in a party of the *Lacedæmonians* into *Lechaum*, who killed several of the *Athenians*, *Argives*, and *Bœotians*.
- 8 ἐκτελέοντες ἐκ τῆς θαλάσσης] first by *Conon*, and afterwards by *Iphicrates*.

- 40 18 *μικροτέρους* --- *παιδ' ἀνδρῶν*] N. the difference of number.
 22 *ἐκόντως ἡλίκη*] viz. *τύχη* yielding to the stroke of adverse fortune; Or, *γνώμη* yielding out of cowardice.
- 41 4 *διὰ τοῦτο ἐμὶ*] I am obliged in justice to.
 5 *ἐπίσημα*] solemnly injoin'd us to ---
 12 *ὁ Παιδὺς &c.*] Demetrius Phalereus cites this passage, as an instance of the great force which the *Prosopopæia* has in Oratory.
 ib. *ἐπὶ πατρίῳ*] viz. *πατρί*.
 15 *τὸς ἐπὶ τοῖς*] viz. *ἐσόμενοις*, posterity.
- 42 3 *καὶ οὐδὲν φέρει τῷ κακῷ*] brings with it any thing upon which a man can with reason value himself, *ἢ φ' ὃ πρὸς καλολύγηται*; the word *καλός* is here opposed to *πρὸς αἰσχρῶς* in l. 5. it is us'd in the common sense.
 17 *ὁ οὐκ ἀνδρῶν*] viz. *ἀνδρῶν*.
 22 *ἀλλὰ γὰρ πρὸς τοῖς ἐκγόνοις (ἐπὶ) καλὰς ἡσυχίας*] for it is a noble treasure to Children, to have the honours of their Ancestors to inherit.
- 43 9 *ἐνταῦθα ὡμοίως ὑποδύεσθαι*] alluding to the opinion that souls departed retain'd the same affections in the shades below, as when alive; as *Dido* is represented *Æneid. B. 6. v. 467. Torva tuens --- solo fixos oculos averfa tenens*, when *Æneas* spake to her; agreeably to the example of *Ajax's* behaviour towards *Ulysses* *Odysse. λ. 562.*
 11 *ὡς καὶ παρεμυθεῖσθαι*] supply *φίμῃ ἕως παρεμυθησίου* or *περυσίου*. see *Pericl. p. 15. l. 11.*
 14 *ἐνωδύεσθαι*] join with them in their lamentations; thereby aggravating their grief.
 22 *ὁ φέροντες*] viz. *ὁ ἀναμνησκόμενος αὐτὸς ὅτι* φέροντες ---
- 44 5 *καὶ δὲ ἐδύετο τέτατον*] viz. *γῆρας, αἰδῶ (χρὴ) αἰσῶν &c.*
 9 *Μηδὶ ἄλλων*] Many names are cited for the Author of this prudential maxim. see *Erasmii Adagia, Ne quid nimis.*
 10 *κύβητος δὲ καὶ μετέωρος*] supply *φίροντες* ---
- 45 21 *ἐπιμαλίσσονται*] N. the transition from the plural to the singular *ἐπιμαλίσσεται* p. 46. l. 3.
 22 *τὸς μὲν παιδῶν καὶ ἡλικίας, τὸς δὲ γηροφύκτες αἰῶν*] It was one of *Solon's* laws, that the Parents and Children of such as were cut off in war should be taken care of. If Parents were killed, their children were put to school at the publick charge; and when come to maturity of age, were presented with a whole suit of Armour, and settled every one in his respective calling, and honoured with the first seats in all publick places. --- And in general, the care of the publick

- 45 lick was extended to the children of all such as had been eminently serviceable to the Publick. *Archæol.* V. 1. p. 136, 183. V. 2. p. 119, 275, 346.
- 46 16 ἀρχὴ ἤπερ μέγιστη ἐστὶν] viz. the *Archons*; more especially the *Πολίμαρχος*. *Archæol.* V. 1. p. 77.
- ib. φυλάττειν --- ὅπως αὖ οἱ τούτων μὴ αἰδοῦνται] Such as had received the honour of any privilege from the city of *Athens* were under its more particular care and protection; and the injuries done to them, were represented as publick affronts to the commonwealth; infomuch that whosoever did affront, strike, or speak ill of any such person, was by the Law declared *Infamous*. *Archæol.* V. 1. p. 136, 181. V. 2. p. 119.
- 18 συνιπτεῖσθαι αὐτῇ] viz. in the *Prytaneum*. The being entertain'd at the publick expence was a compliment occasionally paid in consideration of services done to the Publick, and was reputed one of the highest honours at *Athens*. In what manner or under what regulation this publick maintenance was exhibited does not appear. In general, there seems to have been a publick Table kept for the *Prytanes*, or the standing Committee of the Council of 500 for managing the affairs of State. Their common fare is said to have been frugal enough; consisting of a sort of cakes or puddings called *μαζα*. Upon holidays they had an allowance of bread: and as for flesh, the tenths of all the bellies of animals offered in sacrifice were always reserved for them. see *Archæol.* V. 1. p. 136, 181. V. 2. p. 119. Tho' it should seem from some bantering expressions of *Aristophanes*, that the ordinary diet was not always the most frugal, nor bestow'd merely in consideration of publick services. But, that the publick provision in general was but moderate, we may collect from what was paid to the Outpensioners, or such as had been disabled in the wars; which was more or less, according to the exigency of publick affairs, and the circumstances of particular persons; sometimes 3 *Oboli* (or almost 4d.) sometimes 2 *Oboli* (or a little more than 2d. $\frac{1}{2}$) and sometimes 1 *Obolus* (or 1d. $\frac{1}{4}$.) a day; and this on supposition that they had not a yearly estate of three Attick *Minæ* (or 9l. 13s. 9d.) Now in *Demosthenes's* time the *συντηρίσιον* or subsistence money of a common foot soldier was two *Oboli*, per diem. Phil. 1. §. 10. The whole pay of a foot soldier four *Oboli*. *Archæol.* V. 2. p. 8, 9.
- 19 πρὸς θυμὸν μὲν ὅτι μέγιστος ἀδελφοὶ αὐτοῖς τὴν ἐξουσίαν παρέδωκε] being
T
desi-

46 desirous to have them render'd as little sensible as may be, of their Orphan-state ---

22 *ὡς ἀνδρὶς τίλῃ*] to the rank of manhood. viz. at the age of 20 years.

47 1 *πανοπλίᾳ χρημάτων*] see p. 15. l. 19. and p. 45. l. 22. At the time of performing this ceremony the following oath was taken by the *Ephēbi*. "I'll never do any thing to disgrace this armour; I'll never fly from my post, nor desert my General; but I'll fight for my country and religion, in an army or single combat; I'll never be the cause of weakning or endamaging my country, and if it be my fortune to sail on the seas, my country thinking fit to send me in a colony, I'll willingly acquiesce, and enjoy that land which is allotted me. I'll firmly adhere to the present constitution of affairs, and whatsoever enactments the people shall please to pass, I'll see no body violate or pervert them; but I'll either singly by myself, or by joining with others, endeavour to revenge them. I'll conform to my country's Religion. If occasion require, I'll lay down my life for my native country. My endeavours to extend the dominions of *Athens* shall never cease, while there are wheat, barley, vineyards, and olive-trees without its limits. *Archæol.* V. 1. p. 151.

5 *ἐν τῇ πατρὶα ἰστίᾳ*] to take possession of their paternal house and estate. --- It is probable, and this expression seems to imply, that this Ceremony was not observed, at least with those particular marks of solemnity, with regard to all the *Athenians* indiscriminately, but only to young persons of superior fortunes.

7 *ἡγεστὸν ἔχοντων ἐνιαυτῷ*] *Cicero* asserts that this very Oration of *Plato's* was recited publicly upon every return of this anniversary solemnity (I suppose in his time.) *Orator* §. 151. *Platonis Oratio, qua mos est Athenis laudari in concione eos, qui sint in præliis interfecti, --- sic probata est, ut eam quotannis, ut scis, illo die recitari necesse sit.*

8 *τὴν νομιζόμενα*] The care of funeral rites among the *Grecians* was look'd upon as a debt so sacred, that such as neglected to discharge it, were thought accursed: hence they were called *δίκαια, νόμιμα, νομιζόμενα, ἔθιμα, ὅσια* &c. and, among the *Romans*, *justa*; all which words imply an inviolable obligation upon the Living to take care of the obsequies of the Dead. *Archæol.* V. 2. p. 161.

- 47 ¹⁰ ἀγῶνας γυμνικὸς ἐῖς ἰππικὸς -- ἐῖς μουσικὴς πάσης] These Games were not intended merely to serve the purpose of amusement to idle persons, but principally to raise a spirit of emulation in all valuable accomplishments; for the particulars here referr'd to were constant parts of a liberal education in Greece. *Archæol.* V. 2. p. 227. *Rollin* V. 4. B. 10. c. 1. Art. 2. §. 10.
- ¹¹ μουσικὴς πάσης] of all the liberal arts, particularly Oratory and Poetry; nor was the practical part of Musick excepted: for the more solemn performance whereof *Pericles* built a magnificent Odeum, or Musick-Theatre at *Athens*.
- 48 ¹⁰ πρὶν ἅπαν] but above all ---
- ¹¹ αἰδ' ὅπως] αἰδ' (viz. ὅπως, βλέπει or σέβεται) ὅπως.
- ¹³ πολιτικὸς] alluding to his love of politicks, which *Socrates* banters at the beginning of the Dialogue p. 17. l. 5. &c.

NOTES

UPON

L Y S I A S.

49 ³ ΕΞ ὀλίγων ἡμερῶν] (*viz.* διαδύσσειν) at the short warning of a few days. so l. 8. ἔξ ὀλίγου, *viz.* χρόνου διαδύσεως.

⁴ πῶς ἐπαγγέλασθαι] see *Thucyd.* p. 1. l. 16.

50 ⁷ ἄπειρος] see *Thuc.* p. 10. l. 15.

¹¹ μνήμην παρὰ τῆς φήμης λαβόν] taking my account from tradition. The Grecians for a long while followed only their first guide Tradition, in tracing back the footsteps of former ages. Some fix the *Attick* æra at the flood of *Ogyges*. *Plutarch* makes an excuse for beginning so high as *Theseus*: *Dionysius Halicarn.* says there was nothing certain before the *Trojan* war: *Varro* calls the beginning of the *Olympiads* the *Historical Times*: *Pliny* gives little credit to all that is writ of *Greece* before the reign of *Cyrus*; and Others place the most antient Historians but a little before the descent of the *Persian*. *Stan.* Pref. V. 1.

¹³ ὕμνους] *viz.* those solemn Odes, which were sung in honour of the victors in the *Olympick* games, and other great men in the more august feasts and ceremonies of Religion, particularly at the festival of *Panathenæa*. *Archæol.* V. 1. p. 420. *Rollin* V. 4.

¹⁴ τοῖς τῶν ἀγαθῶν μνήμασι] in the commemorations of brave men, whose praises were upon solemn occasions celebrated in set harangues: this expression relates to prosaic compositions, as the foregoing does to poetical.

¹⁵ καίτοις τοῖς τιμῶσι] (*viz.* οἷσι νῦν ἐστὶ) upon such solemn occasions as these.

¹⁶ Ἀμαζόνες] Some place the country of the *Amazons* in *Scythia*, (and agreeably thereunto make *Thermodon* a river in *Scythia*, because the *Amazons* are by All agreed to have dwelt near it.) Others in *Cappadocia*. *Herodotus* B. 4. c. 110, &c. gives an account how a great many of them came to be transported from their original settlements of *Cappadocia* into *Scythia*. --- The *Amazonian* war was occasioned by *Theseus's* taking a romantick voyage into the *Euxine* sea, and bring-

50 bringing off from among the *Amazons* his wife *Antiope*, or, as others called her, *Hippolyte*. These warlike women upon this came from their habitations, and gave the *Athenians* battle. But this war is so differently related, that some have fancied that there were two expeditions of that kind, and that *Antiope* and *Hippolyte* were two different women. *Stan.* V. 1. p. 150.

17 Ἀριῶν --- θυγατρίδας] as all other warlike people were supposed to derive their pedigree from *Mars*.

51 10 πρὸς αὐτῶν ἀνδρῶν ἀγῶν] happening contrary to their expectation to meet with brave men.

11 ὁμοίως ἐκτίσασθαι τῆς ψυχῆς τῇ φύσει] they had upon this occasion souls besitting their sex i. e. they shew'd forth no more courage than what might be expected from the female sex.

16. καὶ ἐκείνην τὴν δόξαν τῆς προτέρως λαβούσας] and gaining a reputation quite contrary to what they had hitherto maintained i. e. losing all their reputation for courage.

12 μῆδαι οὐ τῶν ἀνδρῶν ἢ ἐν τῶν σμικρῶν ἰδέσθαι εἰναὶ γυναικῆς] skemed themselves to be Women more from the dangers (i. e. the manner in which they behaved under dangers) than by their bodies, which being ἀπαισιμίᾳ σιδήρῳ p. 50. l. 19. looked as terrible as those of any Men could do.

15 περὶ τῆς λοιπῆς] viz. περὶ τῶν μετὰ with regard to their future conduct.

52 4 Ἀδράστου &c.] see *Plat.* p. 26. l. 14.

8 πρὸς αὐτῶν ἢ κομίζεσθαι] The duties belonging to the Dead were thought of greater importance, and the neglect of them to be a crime of a blacker character than those required by the Living. And even among the most Barbarous nations it was reckon'd an unpardonable crime to defraud them of any due respect; it was thought a sign of a cruel and inhuman disposition to prosecute revenge beyond the grave, and a great provocation to the infernal Gods (as also to τῆς αὐτοῦ Θεοῦ p. 52. l. 10.) and such as would call up certain vengeance to neglect any opportunity, which offered of paying this debt of burial to any carcase, which a person accidentally met with, even tho' a stranger. *Archæol.* V. 2. p. 160, 162.

20 τῶν κομίζουσιν] see *Plato* p. 47. l. 8.

53 5 ἡμῶν ἐλπίδες] the hopes, which all men may reasonably indulge, of having their funeral rites duly performed. --- or, of being relieved by the assistance of those common friends to the distressed, namely the *Athenians*.

53

12 τὰ ἄλλα] viz. the bodies of the slain.

16 ἢ ἐπὶ ἐπὶ Θήσας] viz. τερπυσσάντων.

18 ἐξ ἀνθρώπων ἡφανίσθη] a Hero so celebrated as *Hercules* could not be supposed to die a common death; much less would it be proper for the Orator to hint at either of the only determinate accounts what became of him, viz. that he fell a sacrifice to the jealous resentment of his mistresses by poison, or that he burnt himself in a fit of phrenzy: and therefore by this ambiguous expression he has left it to his Audience to suppose him to have been honour'd with a sort of assumption into the assembly of the Gods, in consideration of his beneficial services to mankind. He is suppos'd to have died about the 52d year of his age. *Stan. V. 1. p. 37.*

ib. οἱ δὲ πένδε] about sixty in number. see *Plato p. 26. l. 15.*

19 Εὐρύσθιος] The relation between *Eurystheus* and *Hercules* is settled in this manner. --- *Perseus K.* of *Mycenæ* left several sons behind him: among others *Alcæus*, *Sthenelus*, and *Electryon*. *Alcæus* was the Father of *Amphitryon*; *Sthenelus* of *Eurystheus*; and *Electryon* of *Alcmene*. *Amphitryon* married *Alcmene*, upon whom *Jupiter* begat *Hercules*. --- *Perseus* was succeeded in his Kingdom successively by *Electryon*, *Sthenelus* and *Eurystheus*. *Rollin V. 2. B. 5. Art. 4.*

20 τοῖς ἑρσείοις] viz. this cruel usage of *Eurystheus*.

22 οἰκίας ἐν τῷ βωμῷ] Temples, Statues, and Altars of the Deities were accounted so sacred, that to many of them the privilege of protecting offenders was granted; so that if any malefactor fled to them it was accounted an act of sacrilege to force him thence; not that all temples were sanctuaries, but only such as received that privilege from the manner of consecration. *Archæol. V. 1. p. 198, 201.* But this probably was the case in aftertimes, when the number of Temples &c. was so much increased, as must have, without such limitation, entirely obstructed the execution of justice upon malefactors. This Altar at *Athens*, whether it was now erected by the *Heraclidæ*, or whether it was one that they took refuge at, became one of the most celebrated *Asyla* of antiquity.

54 8

μὴν ἢ ἐν ἐνὶ τῷ χεῖρῳ &c.] for upon the Descent of the *Heraclidæ* into *Peloponnesus* the whole government of all the several kingdoms of it, excepting *Arcadia*, was transferr'd into new hands; and many
of

54 of the inhabitants were likewise obliged to quit their settlements and remove into different parts. *Stan. V. 1. p. 58, &c.*

13 ἐνέως τ' ἐκ αὐτοῦ παῖσι πρὸς αὐτοῦ ἴσονται γινόμενοι] This manifestly refers to the ingratitude of the Descendants of the *Heraclidae* afterwards; who notwithstanding the assistance they had received from the *Athenians* in gaining possession of *Peloponnesus*, invaded *Attica* on pretence of the *Athenians* receiving the fugitives which they had driven from thence. *Stan. V. 1. p. 154.* tho' from the wording of it viz. p. 53. l. 18 οἱ παῖδες and 54. l. 13. αὐτοῦ γινόμενοι one would think that *Lysias* intimated the same individual persons, who had been so much obliged in their childhood, to have proved ungrateful when arrived to years of maturity.

55 2 ποῦτοι δ' ἰφρόνουν] Both sides were so high spirited ---

3 οἱ μὲν Εὐρυκλῆος (viz. *σεπτιύστατος*) *Eurystheus* and his Party.

16 φιλόπρην αὐτῷ καταστάσας τὸ βίον] Besides the twelve labours which *Hercules* performed chiefly at the instigation of *Eurystheus*, there were several others which he undertook of himself; particularly, in protecting the weak, and repressing violence, subduing the most notorious robbers murderers and tyrants, which, like so many *Pests* and *Monsters* of mankind, at that time infested the world; and this perhaps was the real import of his famous twelve labours likewise. *Stan. V. 1. p. 34.*

18 ἡς αὐτῷ ἐκαμφοῦντο] particularly by keeping the crown from *Hercules*, which by right of primogeniture belong'd to Him. see p. 53. l. 19.

56 1 Πολλὰ μὲν ὑπἔρχη τοῖς ἡμετέροις πρόγονοις] And indeed there were many circumstances that favour'd or contributed to form this disposition in our ancestors.

3 τὸ βίον] the beginning of our political life i. e. the first foundation of our state.

4 ἡ γὰρ ὥσπερ οἱ πολλοί] --- see *Thucyd.* p. 9. l. 18.

8 οἱ ἐνὲμ τῷ χρόνῳ] --- Not certainly at the first original of the *Athenian* people; for a long time they were govern'd by kings. *Theseus* trac'd out the plan of popular government, and began the execution of it; tho' it could scarce be called properly a popular state 'till the establishment of the nine *Archons*. It was *Solon* after all, who confirm'd this sort of Government by his wise laws. *Rollin V. 4. p. 299.*

9 ἐκκαλίοντι] particularly in the case of *Pisistratus*, and his

56 his sons. *Stan.* V. i. 192, and 200. and afterwards of *Isagoras*. p. 204.

11 πάντων ἐλευθερίαν ὁμόνοιαν εἶναι μάλιστα] *that the liberty of All was likely to be the strongest cement of civil union and agreement ---*

12 καὶ οὕτως δ' αἰδέσθαι τὰς ἐν ᾧ κινδύνῳ ἐλπίδας ποιήσαντες] *And having made the hopes attending the dangers common to each other respectively, i. e. And thus each man finding himself to have a common interest to support by engaging in the dangers ---*

21 γένεσι ὁμοίᾳ] *influenc'd by principles suitable to their noble birth.*

57 5 μίνοι ---- δις] *viz. at Marathon by Land, against the forces of Darius; and at Artemisium at Sea, against the navy of Xerxes.*

14 συμπελόμενοι τῇ ἑλλάδι] *It does not appear that the Grecian states were divided in their sentiments upon this occasion; tho' they remarkably were so afterwards, before the fight at Salamis. The Athenian Generals indeed were not unanimous in their resolutions; tho' at length they all yielded to Miltiades. Herodot. L. 6. c. 109.*

58 3 ἢ λογιζομένην ἀδύναμιν] *not computing the danger, which must have discouraged them from attacking such superiority of numbers.*

5 λέγουσιν] *referring to λογιζομένην above.*

9 οὐκ ἀνέμνησαν προηρόμενοι] *not to wait for the good effects of their solicitation; for in fact they did send to Lacedaemon. Herod. L. 6. c. 106. ἐδὲ βοηθήσαν, nor to wait till they actually sent supplies: for supplies were sent, tho' too late for the action. ib.*

16 τὰς μὲν ψυχὰς ἀλλοτρίαις κενήσας] *Isocrates has borrow'd the thought and thus express'd it, ὥστε ἐν ἀλλοτρίαις ψυχαῖς μέλλοντες κινδυνεύειν. Πανηγ. p. 136.*

59 2 ἢ φιλοψυχίᾳ] *not entertaining an unreasonable, ill-timed love of their own lives ---*

3 τὰς παρ' αὐτοῖς νόμους] *see particularly the oath taken by the Ephebi, Archæol. V. i. p. 151. Plat. 47. i. and Lys. 71. 10.*

7 παρὰ τὰς ὁρμὰς] *If there was any Treaty between Persians and Athenians hereby violated, it was probably that which was enter'd into immediately after the restoration of Clisphenes. Stan. Vol. i. p. 205. In other editions it is παρὰ τὰς ὁρμὰς τῆς χώρας passing over those boundaries whereby nature seem'd to have limited the Persian territory, namely, the Ægean sea.*

8 ὅτε ἀφ' ἐκείνης] *viz. ἡγεῖται with so much expedition.*

ib. τ

- 59 ⁸ τὴν κίνδυνον ἐπιποιήσαντες] i. e. ἐκινδυνώσαντες. *they went thro' the danger*: this expression occurs again, p. 67. l. 17. In a different sense, the *Persians* are said, p. 57. l. 15. κίνδυνον ποιῶντες, namely, to strike terror by *bringing on the danger*.
- 11 ἄλλων] *the rest of the Grecians* ---
- ib. ἐθεσεν ὑπὲρ τοῦ μέλλοντος κινδύνου] *were put to any painful apprehensions about the impending danger*.
- 12 ἀλλ' ἀκούσαντες --- ἠόησαν] *but the first news they heard brought with it joy for the deliverance of their liberties*.
- 16 ζηλῶντες] *is proposed as the model and pattern for their ambition and emulation to copy after* ---
- 18 ὑπερβροντίας τῆς Ἑλλάδος] *see the debates in Xerxes's council to this purpose. Herodot. L. 7. c. 8, 9, 10, 11. and Stan. V. 1. p. 230. Rollin V. 3. p. 116, &c.*
- 19 ἀπεμαζόμενος τὸν χειρηνάμενον] *thinking himself and his imperial dignity disgraced by the foil that had been given to his father*.
- 21 ἀπαθὴς κακῶν] *unus'd to misfortunes, and consequently insolent*.
- 22 ἀπειρος ἀνδρῶν ἀγαθῶν] *having as yet had no experience of the bravery of the men whom he was going to encounter. referring to the honest counsel given him on this occasion by Artabanus, which he rejected with disdain. Herod. L. 7.*
- ib. δεκάτῃ ἔτει] i. e. in the *tenth* year after the defeat of *Marathon*, but in the *fifth* year of his reign. *Rollin. V. 3. B. 6. c. 2. §. 2.*
- 60 ¹ χιλίας μὲν ἐξ Ἀχαιοῦ καὶ τριῶν χιλίων] *a round number for 1207 galleys, all of three banks of oars and intended for fighting. Each vessel carried 200 men, natives of the country which fitted them out, besides 30 more either Persians, Medes, or Sacæ, in all 277,610 men. The European nations added 120 vessels carrying each 200; in all 24000. Besides these there were small galleys of 30 and 50 oars; transport-ships, victuallers and tenders, to the number of 3000; in each of which supposing 80 men, the amount is 240,000. Rollin. V. 3. B. 6. c. 2. §. 3.*
- ² πλεονεξίας ἀπὸ τῆς Ἀσίας] *In Thrace Xerxes found his land-army, brought by him out of Asia, consisted of 1700,000 foot and 80,000 horse; less than 20,000 to take care of the carriages and camels can't well be supposed: 300,000 join'd him after passing the Hellespont; so that all his land-forces amounted to 2,100,000 men. When arrived at Thermopylae his land and sea-forces together made up the number*

60

of 2,641,610 men, without including women, servants, sutlers, &c. of which the number was equal to that of the forces: so that the whole number of souls in *Xerxes's* expedition amounted to 5,283,220. This is *Herodotus's* account, in which *Isocrates* and *Plutarch* agree. *Diodorus Siculus*, *Pliny*, and *Ælian* fall much short of this number in their calculations. *Rollin ib. Prideaux* P. 1. B. 4. p. 334.

6 ἀπὸ τὸ πρῶτον] (viz. *χάσμα*) the breadth was about 7 furlongs or near an *English* mile.

13 ζεύξας μὲν τὸν ἑλλήσποντον] viz. by two bridges of galleies ty'd together, and so well anchored that they resisted the winds. *Stan.* V. 1. p. 233. see them described out of *Herodot.* B. 7. c. 33. *Rollin* V. 3. B. 6. c. 2. §. 2.

14 διαρῦμα δὲ τὸ Ἀθῶν] *Athos* is a peninsula of *Macedonia* projecting a great way into the sea: The Isthmus whereby it is joined to the land is about 1 $\frac{1}{2}$ mile over. In *Darius's* first expedition, conducted by *Mardonius*, his fleet attempting to double this peninsula, in order to gain the coast of *Macedonia*, was greatly shatter'd by a tempest to the loss of 300 ships, and 20,000 men. *Xerxes* upon this pretext gave orders for cutting thro' this mountain; and the passage then made was broad enough to let two galleies with three banks of oars pass through it abreast. *Rollin* V. 3. *ib.*

15 ἀλλὰ τῶν μὲν &c.] The greatest part of *Boeotia* and *Thessaly*, with other petty states, which lay most expos'd, declared for the *Persians*: and the *Argives*, partly out of fear, partly out of inveterate hatred to the *Lacedæmonians*, held secret intelligence with the enemy. *Stan.* V. 1. p. 235.

20 αὐτοὶ μὲν ἵς τῆς ἑμῶν] The chief dependance at sea was upon *Athens*; *Themistocles* had by exerting himself increased their navy to near 200 sail; these together with the fleet of the confederates made 280. *Hind* p. 302. *Stan.* V. 1. p. 237.

21 Λακεδαιμόνιοι δὲ καὶ τῶν συμμάχων ἄνθρωποι] The number of men dispatch'd to oppose the *Persians* was 6000, under *Leonidas* one of the *Lacedæmonian* Kings: In this body there were but 300 *Lacedæmonians*; the rest consisting of *Boeotians*, *Corinthians*, *Phocians*, *Arcadians*, and several other lesser states, who each of them furnish'd such proportions as they were able to raise in the present exigency, assigning particular captains to

to their own troops; but *Leonidas* had the command of the whole. *Stan.* V. 1. p. 236.

61 1 ἀφ' ἧς στενότητος] The streights of *Thermopylae* were a narrow pass of 25 foot wide, between the mountains, which divided *Thessaly* from the rest of *Greece*. There were in it the remains of a wall with gates to it; which the *Phocians* had formerly built to secure themselves against the incursions of the *Thessalians*: And from these Gates, and some *Hot Baths*, which were at the entrance into the Pass, it obtained the name of *Thermopylae*. *Stan.* V. 1. p. 236.

4 Ἀρτεμίσου περὶ εἰκὼν τῇ ναυμαχίᾳ] The fight at and about *Artemisium* continued two days, in both which the *Greeks* suffered very much by reason of the superior number of the Enemy's shipping; but as the Enemy left the sea and the wreck and spoils to the *Greeks*, the victory might be adjudged to them. *Hind* p. 314, 315. *Stanyan* V. 1. p. 242.

6 ἀλλὰ ἔπειθ' ἐπιδόξωτο &c.] *Leonidas* maintain'd his post at *Thermopylae* with great bravery and success for 3 days; But finding himself likely to be attack'd in the rear, he gave leave to the rest of the confederates to go off; upon which he was deserted by all except 300 *Lacedaemonians* with some *Thebians* and *Thebans*, in all about 1000 men; who, after making a carnage of 20000, were overpower'd by numbers. *Hind* p. 311. *Stan.* V. 1. p. 239. *Rollin* V. 3. B. 6. c. 2. §. 6.

8 οὐκ ἦν τι γένος] viz. ἐταλότητος, for there is no verb in the sentence.

19 αἰώσεται] viz. ἡ πόλις.

62 4 ἐξέλπον &c.] see *Plato* 30. 2. and 31. 2.

13 οἱ μὲν δὲ δὲνός &c.] *Xerxes* after he had burnt *Athens* march'd down toward the sea to act in conjunction with his fleet, which was come to *Phalerus*, an *Athenian* Port. And whilst he was concerting measures with his Officers, the *Grecians* near *Salamis* were much dispirited and divided in their councils; the *Lacedaemonians* and others being for abandoning *Salamis* and making their stand at the *Isthmus*. But by the stratagem of *Themistocles* the engagement was brought on before the *Grecian* fleet separated, and by his conduct, and the courage and skill of the *Athenians*, a compleat victory was obtain'd. *Hind* p. 321, &c. *Stan.* V. 1. p. 245, &c. So that during that season of debate among the *Grecians*, when their divisions in council had nearly proved fatal to them,

62 there is fair room for imagining the scene which is here so oratorically described.

19 ἄδελφ' ἑ ἐν Σαλαμῖνι] their wives and children were the prize for which they were to contend. The Σαλαμῖνι therefore upon this occasion might be considered as the βεβήδωσι of this glorious contest.

22 τὸ αὐτὸν προειδέναι] because they foresaw it to be, as it were, inevitable: And therefore being thus prepared for it, the evil of it lessen'd in their apprehensions.

63 13 παῖν] Before the Grecian armies adventured to join their enemies they endeavoured by prayers, vows, and sacrifices to engage Heaven to their assistance, and sung an Hymn to Mars called Παῖν ἡμ-βάτην, as that sung to Apollo after a prosperous battle was term'd Παῖν ἱππικὸς. *Archæol.* V. 2. p. 76. Besides Hymns of a religious kind, it has been customary with all armies, as well those of civilized nations as barbarous, at the time of coming to an engagement, to endeavour to strike terror into their enemies, and to encourage their friends, by the shouting repetition of some certain words peculiar to themselves; instances whereof are cited in great variety. *Lipsius de militiâ Romanâ*, L. 4. Dial. 11.

64 1 θυσίαν ἀναμνήσεις] the recital of the sacrifices, which they had formerly offered, such as *Chryses* makes *Il.* α. 40. --- Or, Vows of future sacrifices; which is agreeable to *Plutarch*, who informs us, that *Pericles* summon'd all the Grecians to Athens to consult concerning the sacrifices, which they were indebted upon the vows they made to the Gods for the safety of Greece, when they fought against the Barbarians. *vit. Pericl.*

19 Θημιστοκλῆς] see his character distinctly drawn. *Stan.* V. 1. p. 281, &c.

65 20 γνῶναι ἐκρίναι] of exquisite wisdom and foresight.
2 ἀετιῶν τῆς ναυραχίας ἑλάνει παρὰ τῆς Ἑλλάδος] After their victory at Salamis, Themistocles and the rest of the commanders of the Grecian navy went and exacted contributions of the several Islands which had favour'd the Persians: And afterwards upon a general rendezvous of the confederates at the Isthmus, the officers were unanimous in their praises of Themistocles; and the Lacedæmonians themselves gave him marks of extraordinary esteem carrying him with them to Lacedæmon, crowning him with olive, presenting him with a rich chariot, and at his return home conducting him to the confines of their territories with 300 Horse. *Stan.* V. 1. p. 254.

65 4 τῇ ἐντυχίᾳ ὁμοῦσιν τοῖς καδύουσιν] *a happiness great in proportion to the dangers which they had undergone.*

11 Πελοποννησίων ἀγρυπνοῦσιν τὴν ἰδίαν] All along from the first attempt of *Xerxes*, it was the favorite scheme of the *Lacedaemonians* to place their only confidence in the defence of *Peloponnesus*, and thereby to secure *Laconia*. *Stan.* V. 1. p. 243. *Hind* p. 320. With this view, when *Mardonius*, who had been left by *Xerxes* to prosecute the war, invaded *Attica* and took the city of *Athens* a second time, the *Lacedaemonians* still continued intent upon their old scheme of fortifying the *Isthmus* of *Corinth* by a wall, regardless of the repeated remonstrances of the *Athenians* to march out and face the common danger; 'till the *Athenians* threaten'd them to join with the enemy and leave them to shift for themselves. Upon which the *Lacedaemonians* sent a reinforcement of 5000 men besides 7000 *Helots*; and gave the *Athenians* leave to levy 5000 more. *Stan.* V. 1. p. 257, &c. *Hind* p. 332. *Rollin* V. 3. B. 6. c. 2. §. 9.

12 ἀγαπῶντων μὲν τῇ σωτηρίᾳ] *contented with the mean thought of securing their lives*, regardless how much their honour and reputation would suffer by such conduct.

20 ἂν' ἐνείκῃς δύνανται χεῖρ' ἔχειν] *that they (the Barbarians) would not want 1000 ships i. e. they would have enough to make an invasion upon the Coasts of Peloponnesus.*

21 ἀκινδύνως] *without his running any hazard either to obtain or preserve it --- without striking a blow.*

66 4 ἰσοήσονται ἐς Πλαταιάς] *see Plato 31. 2.*

5 ἀποδράντων δὲ ὑπὸ νύκτι τῷ πλείονι συμμάχων &c.] The two armies continued near *Plataea* for 11 or 12 days, which were spent only in slight skirmishes and traversing each others motions. The *Grecians* supposing things could not be presently brought to an issue, thought it necessary to remove their camp for the convenience of water; but breaking up in the night, were pretty much dispersed, and some of them miss'd their way. In the morning *Mardonius*, imputing their disorder to cowardice, pursu'd them with great violence; and charged their Rear, which consisted chiefly of *Lacedaemonians*; they being assisted by the *Tegeans* maintain'd their ground with great slaughter of the Enemy; and some other *Grecian* troops coming up completed the victory. *Stan.* V. 1. p. 261. *Hind* p. 336. *Rollin* V. 3. p. 180, &c.

10 τοῖς ἀπογίνεσσι τῷ ἱλαθῆναι] *the Thebans and Thessalians sided with the Persians, and in a body of 5000 men*
en-

66 endeavoured to intercept the *Athenians*, who were making all the haste they could to have a share in the action. *Stan.* V. i. p. 262. *Hind* p. 337. *Rollin* V. 3. B. 6. c. 2. §. 9.

67 ²¹ Ἰστίου δὲ χρόνῳ] viz. about 23 years after.
³ πρὸς Ἀργεῖνους &c.] The *Æginetans* had always made a considerable figure in Greece for their skill in sea-affairs; and it was chiefly in their bickerings with them that the *Athenians* lay'd the foundation of their greatness. *Stan.* V. i. p. 220. They had likewise gain'd great reputation by their service against the *Persians*, and could ill bear the excessive growth of the *Athenians*, who having defeated them at sea made a descent and block'd up their city. The *Peloponnesians* sent 300 men to it's relief: And the *Corinthians* took this opportunity, whilst the *Athenian* forces were divided betwixt *Ægypt* and *Ægina* to make incursions into *Megaris*, and seized upon the fortrefs of *Geranea*. But the *Athenians* march'd out of the city to a man against them under the conduct of *Myronides*. In the first battle the *Corinthians* without reason pretended to have the better: but upon their coming to erect a trophy, a second ensued, wherein they were intirely defeated. *Stan.* V. i. p. 302.

⁵ πολιορκήσαντες --- Αἴγυπτον] viz. the city *Memphis* in *Ægypt*. see *Plato* 31. 17.

⁷ ἡλικίας] those who were of age for military service. see *Thucyd.* 5. 3.

¹¹ Γεργαῖον] a fortrefs situate upon the summit of a high hill in the territory of *Megara*, commanding the passage to the *Isthmus*.

¹³ ἔδωκεν ἐπιλεγεσθαι μετὰ πύμψαδ] had too much spirit and resolution to send for a single man of them ---

68 ¹⁰ οἱ μὲν πάλιν ἐπαυδαύοντο, οἱ δὲ περὶ τὴν λοιπὴν ἐκπαίδευσιν] They all betook themselves to their proper business respectively, the young men returning to their former exercises and course of discipline, the aged to consult for the good of the State ---

²¹ ἰσχυρομένην ἔτι] The *Athenian* Empire began soon after the defeat of the *Persians* at *Plataea* and *Mycale*, and continued till the demolition of the walls of *Athens* &c. by *Lysander* i. e. about 73 years. *Stan.* V. 2. P. 2.

69 ¹ πῶς ἐλπίσας τὰς πολλὰς δαλάρων] alluding to that earnestness with which the *Lacedæmonians* endeavour'd to esta-

- 69 establish their own model of *Oligarchical* government where-ever they obtained influence.
- 2 ἀναγκάσαντες] The *Athenians* no less exerted themselves in establishing, and obliged others to use, the *Democratical* form.
- 7 ἀλλ' ἰδίᾳ τῶν] (i. e. ἡ τῶν) ἰαυτῷ. see l. 8.
- 8 ἐν ἐκείνῳ τῷ χρόνῳ] during that period of time --- After the repeated victories of the *Athenians* under *Cimon*, the *Persians* were glad to treat upon any terms: and a peace was concluded extremely honourable on the *Grecians* side, the chief articles being, "That the *Grecian* Cities in *Asia* should be left in the quiet enjoyment of their liberty; and that both the land and sea forces of the *Persians* should be kept at such a distance from the *Grecian* seas, as as not to give any umbrage." *Stan.* V. I. p. 291. the words of the treaty as recited by *Diodor. Sic. L. 12.* are, αὐτονόμως εἶναι τοῖς καὶ τὴν Ἀσίαν Ἑλλήνων πόλεις ἀπείσους, τοὺς δὲ τῶν Περσῶν οὐτερόπας μὴ καθίστασθαι ἐπὶ θάλατταν κατὰ τὴν τῶν ἡμερῶν ὁδόν, μηδὲ ναυὶ μακροῖν πλεῖν ἐκ τῆς Φασίλης & Κυανίων.
- 14 ὧν ἕνεκα δὲ μόνες &c.] for which reasons they, the *Athenians*, have the justest pretensions to be consider'd as the principal of the *Grecian* States.
- 17 ἀποδομένῳ γὰρ τῶν ναῶν] *Adimantus* one of the *Athenian* Admirals was thought to have betray'd the fleet to *Lysander*. *Stan.* V. I. p. 441.
- 20 καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις Ἑλλήσιν] inasmuch as they were now exposed to the insolence of the *Lacedæmonians*, and no power remained sufficient to oppose the *Persians*, as is implied afterwards; tho' what grounds there is for such intimation does not appear: No one certainly cou'd be a greater curb upon the *Persians* than *Agésilas* was.
- 70 1 ἰτίων γὰρ ἡγεμόνων γινομένων] for Others, viz. the *Lacedæmonians*, being now at the head of the affairs of Greece ---
- ib. ἐνίκησαν μὲν ναυμαχῇς τὰς Ἑλλήνας] *Isocrates*, whose *Panegyrick* is drawn upon much the same plan with this Oration of *Lysias*, specifies these victories of the *Persians* more particularly, ἐνίκησαν μὲν οἱ Βάρβαροι ναυμαχῇς, ἤρξαν δὲ τὴν θάλατταν, κατέλαβον δὲ πλείους τῶν νήσων, ἀπέστησαν δὲ ἐκ τῆς Ἀστικῆς, Κόρηρα δὲ καὶ Κέραιας ἔλαβον, ἄπασαν δὲ τὴν Πελοπόννησον κακῶς ποιοῦντες περιέπλουν, p. 145. Edit. Cant. But it may be observ'd, that this was done under the conduct of *Conon*, who was so far from oppressing the *Grecian* Islands, &c. that he turn'd out the

70

the *Lacedæmonian* Governours, and set them free upon the Democratical plan of Government: All this happen'd (according to *Xenophon* *ΕΛΛΗΝ.* L. 4.) after the transactions, which *Lyfias* proceeds to difcant upon in the next paragraph: and therefore he properly enough makes use of the word *ἔτερον* I have been carried out of the regular order of time, l. 16.

8 *καὶ ἐπεὶ τὴν ἑλπίδα*] Tis well known to have been the custom among the *Greeks*, for those, who thought themselves obliged to exprefs their grief or concern, to tear, or cut off their hair, and to shave their heads; and this was sometimes practic'd by whole cities and commonwealths. *Archæol.* V. 2. p. 197.

11 *ὡς δυστυχὲς*] so unhappy was ---

13 *ἔτερον ἡγεμόνων λαοῖσιν*] having got, or to do with, other commanders of Greece.

21 *εὐσιμώτατοι*] see *Plat.* 35. l. 20.

22 *πῶτος πολέμιος καυτημένος*] referring to the smallness of their numbers, who engaged in the attempt to recover their liberty: According to *Nepos* they were at first only 30. according to *Xenophon* 70.

7 I 1 *ὅτι ὑπὸ νόμῳ ἀνωγομένη*] inasmuch as the constitution was subverted, and the law had thereby lost its proper efficacy.

5 *ἐ πῶς ἄλλοις*] viz. for those who had gone into voluntary exile to avoid the Tyranny of the xxx.

7 *πῶς συμφοραῖς αἰχμημένοι*] actuated with a generous shame (as p. 58. l. 8) at their misfortunes; namely, that the *Lacedæmonians* should be able to reduce them to so low a condition.

10 *συμμάχος μὲν ὄντας*] see the Oath taken by the *Ephēbi.* *Plato* p. 47. 1. All the *Athenians* in the several tribes took the following Oath. "I'll endeavour, with my own hands, to kill that man, who shall dissolve the *Athenian* Republick, or after its subversion shall bear any office; and he shall be reputed by me wholly free from guilt, in respect of the Gods or Dæmons, who shall take away his life, or encourage another so to do; farther, in the distribution of his goods, I'll pass my vote that the slayer shall have half; and he, that in the attempt shall have the misfortune to lose his life, shall with his heirs have due respect and honour from me."

Archæol. V. 1. p. 155.

ib. *ἐ σωθήσεται*] When *Lyfander* propos'd to erect the Oligarchy of the xxx Tyrants at *Athens*, *Theramenes* alledged in opposition to his proposal, and read over the

71

the *συνθήκαι*, the articles of capitulation, upon which *Athens* had surrender'd to him, one of which was ἐν τῇ πατρὶς συνιστάσει πολιτεία. *Diod. Sic. L. 14. ad Olymp. 94. 1.*

11 *πολιμίς δὲ τὰς πρότερον ὑπάρχουσας*] for the *Lacedaemonians* kept in *Attica* a standing force to support the Oligarchy which they had established.

15 *τὸς Λακεδαιμονίων τάφους*] Those *Lacedaemonians*, who fell in this war, had the privilege of being buried in the most honourable place of sepulture thro' the interest of their Countrymen, who supported the Government then establish'd in *Athens*. This honour was granted likewise by the opposite party to some *Thebans*. p. 72. l. 15, 22.

20 *τάχῃ*] see *Plat.* 38. l. 13.

72

1 *ὥς ἐπὶ πτωχείᾳ*] *Athens* after the restoration of the Democracy was for some time very quiet with its neighbours, endeavouring to recover itself from its late confusions in the Government at home. *Stan. V. 2. p. 54.*

7 *ἀπελογίσαντο*] vindicated themselves from the imputation of wanting true bravery and virtue.

10 *βίβη παρόντων Πειλοποννησίων*] *Lysander* was sent by the *Lacedaemonians* to support the Oligarchy establish'd at *Athens*, who together with his brother *Libys* the Admiral block'd the *Piræus* by sea and land; and thereby greatly distress'd those who had fled thither. *Pausanias* likewise was sent with another body of men to support *Lysander*. see *Plato* 35. 20.

11 *τὴν αὐτῶν*] viz. πάλιν.

15 *τὸς ξένους*] Those *Thebans* who assisted the Exiles against the 30 Tyrants.

16 *τῷ πλῶθει*] for tho' the number which *Thrasybulus* had with him was comparatively but small, yet it was the cause of the πλῆθος which he defended.

73

1 *βοηθήσαντες Κορινθίους*] see *Plat.* 37. 16. --- 40. 6.

2 *παλαιῶν φίλων*] The *Corinthians* had in most instances been fast friends and allies to the *Lacedaemonians*. *Hind* p. 141, 153, 410.

ib. *κρηνοὶ*] the emendation *κρηνοὶ* seems agreeable to *Lysias's* fondness for antithetical expressions.

6 *ἢ προτέρως ἔχθρας*] viz. in the *Peloponnesian* war, when they acted against the *Athenians*.

13 *τοὺς δὲ Λακεδαιμονίων συμμάχοις*] supply *σύμμαχοι* *ζητούμενοι* as l. 3.

14 *νικήσαντες μὲν δὲ ἐκείνους ἢ αὐτῶν ἔξιν*] for it was always usual

- 73 *sual with them when they came off victorious to admit others to the same privileges of freedom with themselves.*
 17 *κρίλιπιν*] whenever they miscarried in their enterprizes, the consequence was always fatal to the liberty of the Peloponnesian States.
 ib. *ἐκείνοις*] the Corinthians,
 19 *ὑπὲρ*] The Athenians who went to their relief.
- 74 2 *ἐπιτάχουσιν*] viz. in the Corinthian war under the command of Iphicrates; by whose extraordinary conduct and skill in military affairs a stop was put to the progress of the Lacedæmonian arms. *Stan. V. 2. p. 8.*
 3 *δυσχερῆσιν*] see *Plat. 40. 6.*
 ib. *πῶρον δ' ἂν ἐπὶ τῷ αὐτῶν*] (viz. *χώρας*) for the seat of the war lay chiefly about Corinth. *Stan. V. 2. p. 79.*
 16 *παλαιὴ καὶ δαίμων ὑπερχόντων*] notwithstanding that age is exposed to a variety of sad inconveniences, *ζηλῶ* I think them happy in this respect that ---
- 75 8 *ποῖον ἐν ταῖς τῆς πόλεως συμφοραῖς; ἀλλὰ τίτι αὐτῶν ἐκὼς καὶ τὰς ἄλλας μὴνῶν*] q. d. shall I endeavour to alleviate their concern by representing, that the calamity is not at all peculiar to themselves, but extended to the whole community as well as them? but this will be endeavouring to procure a remedy to one evil by running into another, it will raise in the rest of my audience the uneasy remembrance of those misfortunes.
- 20 *ὡςπερ ἐκείνοι*] shew the same regard and value for them as they, viz. their own children, would have done.
- 76 8 *οὐκ οἶδ' ὅτι δὲ*] i. e. *οἶδ' ὅτι ἐ δὲ*.
 20 *ἡ φύσις ἐ νοσῶν ἢ πῶν καὶ γῆρας*] our Nature is such as must necessarily yield to the attacks of diseases and old-age.
- 77 10 *ἀγῶνις --- ῥώμης καὶ σοφίας*] see *Plato p. 47. 10.*
 ib. *καὶ πλῆτε*] referring to the great charges which private persons were at in celebrating these festivals, vying with each other in the splendour of their preparations.
- 11 *ὡς αἱεὶ*] N. Accus. absolute us'd as a Genitive.
 12 *ταῖς αὐταῖς τιμαῖς καὶ τὰς ἀθανάτους*] --- the same honours, as the immortal Gods ---
 14 *τῷ θανάτῳ*] (viz. *ἐκφ.*)

8 **HYPERIDES** was an *Athenian* Orator, contemporary with *Demosthenes*, but supposed not to have been so hearty in the real interest of his country (see *Stan. V.* 2. p. 252.) However, he was very active in its service upon the death of *Alexander*, and was appointed to speak the funeral Oration over *Leosthenes* and those who fell in the *Lamian* war, as we learn from *Diod. Sic. B. 18.* and four years afterwards he was seiz'd by the command of *Antipater*, and put to death.

The fragment here reprinted is preserved by *Stobæus* Serm. 123. with *Hyperides's* name affixed to it in the margin: Whether it was part of the funeral oration above-mentioned is uncertain: From the expression l. 19. τὴν πρῶτην τῶν Θεῶν κατελευομένην βοηθήσαντας it should seem to refer to some war undertaken upon a *religious* account. One of which kind happen'd in his time, namely, the *Phocian* or *Sacred* War; in which the zeal of one side was inflamed by the cry of *Religion*, and of the other by that of *Liberty*. The *Athenians* indeed took the latter party; but if the character of *Hyperides*, above referr'd to, be a just one, there is no improbability of his having in his younger years been a Panegyrist upon those who fell in support of the *Phocian* interest, which had its advocates, as *Demosthenes* represents also *Philip* to have had, among the *Athenian* Orators.

I N D E X.

A.

ΑΒΙΩΤΟΣ 41. 18. *pro αβιώσει*
Αβίω vita non vitalis, vita
acerba et misera, seu αβιώτος
εἶναι non esse vivendum.
Αγαθὸν 12. 16. commoda. 73. 20.
virtutes.
Αγάλλομαι 14. 10. oblecto me.
Αγάλλομαι 48. 7. — 64. 7. demi-
ror, laudo, veneror.
Αγαπᾶω 29. 6. — 57. 6. — 65. 12.
contentus sum.
Αγαπητῶς 40. 3. cupidè, libenter.
Αγωνήν 29. 7. conquiesco.
39. 9. quiesco *tumultuari de-*
finis et nihil bellicum attentans
aut moliens.
Αγνωσῶ 25. 11. ignobilitas.
Αγορεύω 23. 8. infoecundus.
Αγωνίζομαι 19. 5. me exerceo.
62. 14. periclitor, discrimen
ado.
Αδεια 55. 9. securitas.
Αδικοῦμαι *adject.* 71. 21. similia,
congruens.
Αδῶς 9. 18. absque metu.
Αδελφός γίνεσθαι. 46. 19. occultari.
Αδικῶ εἰ μὴ ἀδικῶ γὰρ. 20. 2. per-
peram ago.
Αδύνατος 75. 1. invalidus.
Αἰ 6. 12. — 13. 7. *latine resolven-*
dum per particulas prout quis-
que, quotiescunque &c. 18. 3,
&c. semper, plerumque.
Αἰνῶς ** 19. *apud poetas pro*
αἰένως perennis, perpetuus.
Αθλον 53. 13. id de quo certatur.
Αἰρίομαι ** 17. capio. *passim*
eligo, designo. 41. 14. — 71. 6.
antepono, malo.
Αἰρέω 50. 21. cursu capio seu cur-
rendo assequor et comprehendo,
præverto.
Αἰετοῦμαι κίνδυνον. 54. 17. suscipio,
vel adeo periculum.

Αισχύνομαι τινί. 53. 20. me pudeo
cujuspiam. 59. 3. revereor.
58. 7. — 71. 7. pudore afficior.
ἐν τοῖς ἔργοις. 12. 21. verecundor
inter agendum.
Αιτιάομαι 28. 4. criminor, accuso.
Αιωρέομαι 44. 13. suspendor, *Cis-*
cerone vertente Tusc. 5.
Ακινδύνως 65. 22. citra periculum.
Ακμή 12. 7. *sc. καιρῷ*, articulus
temporis quo res aliqua debet agi.
ἀκμή τύχης summum discrimen
fortuna bellica.
Ακοή 10. 5. fama.
Ακρόασις 6. 13. auscultatio, obe-
dientia.
Αλίσκω 61. 19. capio.
Αλλάττομαι τι ἀπὸ τινος. 21. 19.
commuto i. e. unum alteri præ-
fero.
Αμαρτάνω * 9. in consiliis, con-
siliis aut re aliquâ gerendâ
frustor, infelici successu rem
gerere. 53. 5. destituor. 51. 15.
ἡμαρτημένα offensiones, opera
seu actiones, quæ perperam facta
sunt, *vel*, quæ non succedunt.
Αμάρτυρος 10. 10. non testatus,
nullo teste comprobatus.
Αμαυρόω ** 15. obscuro, oblitero.
Αμειλύτερος 9. 14. *metaph.* lan-
guidior, remissior, tardior.
Αμείβομαι ** 6. pertranseo.
Αμνησία 27. 2. oblivio.
Αμύνομαι 7. 19. — 26. 14. dimico,
me tueor. 60. 17. resisto.
Αμύνομαι τι. 5. 9. — 30. 6. — 31. 5.
propulso, tueor me contra. 12.
16. — 30. 11. ulciscor, hostium
injuriam propulso.
Αμύνω τινί. 26. 14. — 37. 5. sup-
petias eo, auxiliior, succurro.
Αμφισβητέω περὶ τινός. 23. 1. li-
tigo, contendo *de hoc tanquam*
ad me pertinente.

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- Φιλονεικος. 55.15. contentionis plenus, qui magno et velut pertinaci studio contendit rem aliquam efficere.
- Φιλότης. 62.18. amor, necessitudo.
- Φρονίω. 67.1. μέγα. 75.16. sum animo elato, memet effero, insolesco. τοσῶτον ἰφρόνων. 55.2. tantam de se opinionem concipiebant, tantos spiritus gerebant.
- Φρόνημα. 27.15. prudentia, magnanimitas. 13.20. animi elatio, cogitatio quae ab elato animo proficiscitur.
- Φυλάττω. 61.7. tucor, conservo.
- Φύσις. 67.18. --- 76.12. natura. 22.1. --- 26.2. --- 39.18. origo, ortus. 15.13. --- 51.2, 11. sexus. 71.2. --- 78.3. indoles, ingenium. 4.6. ingenii captus. 76.20. --- 77.8. natura nostra, seu substantia nostra.
- Φύω, φύσει πεφυκότα. 60.10. quae naturae sunt constituta.
- Φύω καλῶς. 56.21. bene nascor.
- X.
- Χαρίς. μετὰ χαρίτων. 9.22. cum elegantia, decorè. Χάριν εἶδεναι τῆς σωτηρίας. 58.11. gratiam habere. ὁ δρᾶσας τὴν χάριν. 9.13. qui beneficium contulit.
- Χειρόομαι. 28.13. --- 33.19. subigo, subjugo.
- Χείρων. 11.12. deterior, pejor.
- Χεράομαι. --- θησαυρῶ. 43.2. utendo absumo. νόμῳ. 1.1. servo.
- Χωρεῖω ἐπὶ. --- 7.14. tendo, obviam eo.
- Ψ.
- Ψεύδομαι τῆς ἐλπίδος. 59.18. frustror spe. τῷ πλῆθει ψευδομένης. 61.6. fallor. falsa opinione concepta de multitudine.
- Ψιλὸς λόγος. 26.19. nudus sermo.
- Ψυχὴ. 67.14. --- 68.8. vivida vis animi. 71.4. anima, vita.
- Ω.
- Ως. 36.2,5. quàm maxime. 70.11. admirationis interjectio quàm!.

FINIS.

EPIGRAMMATA.

THUCYDIDIS

PLATONIS

LYSIAE

ORATIONES FUNEBRES.

EPIGRAMMATA.

I.

Hi bello ob patriam gesto, repulère retrorsum
Bellantùm adversos, Marte favente, globos:
Ut sese exereret fortis metuendaque virtus,
Lucrosum lethi nemo refugit iter.
Ut Græci arcerent communem è finibus hostem,
Nec gererent vili colla subacta iugo.
Horum animas Fatum abripuit; sed corpora servat
Composita in charo patria terra sinu.
Nil peccare Deum est, rectoque agere omnia cursu;
Sed Fati certa est, nec fugienda manus.

II.

Terdecies centum hic certârunt millibus olim
E Peloponneso bis modo mille viri.

III.

Nos Lacedæmoniis refer hîc, peregrine, jacentes,
Exhibito illorum vocibus obsequio.

IV.

Nobilis hoc bustum est (Medi occidere) Megistæ,
Sperchion ad fluvium; sed nec inultus obit.
Qui vates obitum quamvis præsciret adesse,
Spartæ haud sustinuit deseruisse duces.

V.

His, qui ad Thermopylas cadebant,
Sors celebris contigit, fatumque pulchrum.
Ara est tumulus, proavos recordans;
Fit exitium laus. Funereum sed amictum
Hunc nec tempus omnia edens vorabit,
Nec situs, virum bene qui meruere.
Græciæ laudem incolarum
Ædicula hæc capit.
Testis horum Leonides
Rex Spartæ celebris.
Virtutis hic relinquens
Famam perpetuumque decus.

P E R I C L I S

O R A T I O F U N E B R I S.

A R G U M E N T U M.

EADEM hyeme, Athenienses patrio instituto publice humarunt eos, qui in hoc bello primi mortem obicrunt; in hunc fere modum. Triduo antequam funus efferatur, tabernaculum faciunt, & sub eo defunctorum ossa proponunt; & unusquisque suo cadaveri inferias affert, si quas velit. Quum autem funeris efferendi dies venit, plaustra adducuntur, quæ arcas ex cupresso factas ex singulis Tribubus singulas portant. In his autem insunt ossa singularum Tribuum, ex quibus singuli sunt. Unus autem lectus stratus fertur inanis, illorum causa, qui non exstant, & quorum cadavera inter alia cæsorum corpora reperiri suscipique non potuerunt. Quilibet autem tam de civibus, quam de peregrinis funus prosequitur: & mulieres, quæ cum illis propinquitatis vinculo sunt conjunctæ, ad sepulchrum adsunt ejulantes. Hæc autem in publico monumento condunt, quod est in pulcherrimis urbis suburbiis. (atque hic semper sepeliunt eos, qui in bello ceciderunt; illis exceptis, qui in campis Marathonis obierunt: nam cum illorum virtutem insignem esse judicassent, in illo ipso loco, in quo ceciderunt, sepulchrum etiam fecerunt.) Postquam autem eos humarunt, vir aliquis
2 ab ipsa civitate delectus, qui & prudentia & dignitate cæteris præstare videatur, orationem illorum laudibus convenientem super ipsis habet. Postea vero discedunt. Hoc igitur modo Athenienses suorum in bello cæsorum corpora sepeliunt. Et toto belli tempore, quoties hoc ipsis accidebat, hoc ritu utebantur. Pericles autem Xanthippi filius ad hos, qui primi tunc obierunt, oratione funebri cohonestandos delectus est: & postquam

tempus permisit, a sepulcro in suggestum, quod excelsum erat, ut quam longissime per circumstantem hominum multitudinem exaudiretur, progressus, hac verba fecit.

MULTI quidem eorum, qui ex hoc loco verba jam³ fecerunt, eum laudant, qui hanc orationem funebrem legi, veterique instituto addidit; propterea quod eam de iis, qui in proeliis interfecti sepelirentur, haberi præclarum esset. Mihi vero satis esse videtur, virorum, qui re ipsa, factisque fortes exstiterunt, honores etiam re ipsa factisque declarari; qualia sunt, quæ publice nunc circa hoc sepulcrum apparata videtis; nec in uno viro multorum virtutes periclitari, ut perinde ac ipse dixerit, sive bene, sive male, ita etiam ei fides habeatur. Difficile enim est modum in dicendo tenere, ita ut auditori satisfacias: in⁴ quo vel ipsa veritatis opinio vix stabiliri potest. Nam auditor, qui rei est gnarus, & qui defuncto est benevolus, fortasse existimabit aliquid parcius declaratum, quam ipse velit, ac norit; & rei ignarus, nonnulla etiam redundare putabit, propter invidiam, si quid supra vires ac ingenium suum audiat. Eatenus enim laudes, quæ aliis tribuuntur, sunt tolerabiles, quatenus unusquisque se quoque aliquid eorum, quæ audivit, facere posse putat. Sed quum auditores exsuperantiæ virtutis ipsorum defunctorum invident, tunc vero non credunt, qua de illis dicuntur. Quoniam autem majores nostri hæc præclare se habere censuerunt, oportet me quoque legi huic obsequentem operam dare, ut quam maxime potero uniuscujusque vestrum voluntati ac opinioni satisfaciam.

Initium autem a majoribus ducam. Æquum enim est, simul etiam decorum, in hac laudatione hunc honorem commemorationis ipsis tribui. Nam regionem istam iidem semper incolentes, succedentibus posteris ad hoc usque

que tempus liberam sua virtute tradiderunt. Itaque cum illi laude sunt digni, tum etiam magis patres nostri: nam cum ad ea, quæ a *majoribus* acceperant, tantum imperium, quantum hoc est, quod obtinemus, acquisivissent, id non sine labore nobis, qui hæc sumus, præterea, reliquerunt. Majorem vero hujus *imperii* partem nos ipsi, præsertim qui nunc sumus integra & matura ætate, propagavimus; urbemque rebus omnibus, & ad bellum, & ad pacem pertinentibus instructissimam, ac ornatissimam reddidimus. Quorum *majorum* præclara facinora in bellis edita, quibus *hæc* omnia sunt parta, aut si quid nos ipsi, aut patres nostri, bellum a barbaris, aut a Græcis illatum alacriter propulsantes fecimus, quia apud vos rerum gnaros prolixiore oratione uti nolo, *hæc* omittam. Sed quibus studiis ad hoc imperium pervenerimus, & quo reipublicæ administrandæ genere, quave disciplina sit auctum, ubi prius hæc declaravero, tunc & ad istorum laudationem accedam: tum quod existimem hanc orationem non indecoram fore institutæ huic laudationi, tum etiam quod universo tam civium, quam peregrinorum cœtui conducere *judicem*, harum rerum commemorationem audire.

Nos enim ea reipublicæ administratione utimur, quæ aliarum civitatum leges non æmulatur, imo vero nos ipsi nonnullis potius exemplo sumus, quam alios imitamur. Et nomine quidem Democratia vocatur; propterea quod non ad paucorum, sed ad communem utilitatem administramus. Omnes vero ex legum præscripto in privatis controversiis fruuntur juris æquabilitate; & pro dignitate, ut quisque aliqua in re excellit, ita etiam, non *quod sit ex aliqua civium* parte potius, quam virtutis gratia, in republica *aliis* anteponitur, neque etiam propter paupertatem ac dignitatis obscuritatem, dummodo aliqua in re civitati

civitati prodesse possit, arcetur. Liberaliter porro rempublicam administramus, nec per mutuam quotidianarum actionum suspensionem aliis, si quid animi causa agunt, succensentes; neque molestum, licet innoxium, vultu dolorem præferentes. Sed privata negotia *inter nos* sine molestia agentes, ea, quæ ad rempublicam pertinent propter metum non violamus; illis, qui sunt in Magistratu, semper obtemperantes, & legibus, iis potissimum, quæ latæ sunt, ut auxilio sint hominibus injuria affectis, atque adeo illis, quæ licet non sint scriptæ, certam tamen ignominiam afferunt.

Quinetiam laborum crebras remissiones animis nostris invenimus, certaminibus & sacrificiis anniversariis, quæ moribus ac institutis patriis sunt recepta, nos recreantes, & decoro privatorum apparatu, cujus quotidiana voluptas dolores excutit. Huc autem, ex omnibus orbis terrarum partibus, omnia propter urbis magnitudinem importantur; acciditque nobis, ut non magis familiariter nostris, quam aliorum etiam mortalium bonis perfruemur.

Quinetiam rerum bellicarum studiis præstantiores sumus nostris adversariis, his urbem omnibus communem exhibemus, nec ullis peregrinorum expulsionibus quemquam unquam a disciplinis aut spectaculis arcemus; quod minime absconditum, si quis ex hostibus viderit, utilitatem percipere possit: quippe non tam apparatibus, & dolis, quam nostræ in rebus gerendis fortitudini, confidimus. Atque in disciplinis, hi quidem *Lacedæmonii* statim ab ineunte ætate virtutem exercitatione laboriosa consecretantur. Nos vero, quamvis remisso vitæ genere utamur, nihilo tamen secius, ac illi, æqualia pericula subimus. *Hujus autem rei* hoc est argumentum. Neque enim *Lacedæmonii* per se, sed cum omnibus auxiliis nostrum

strum agrum invadunt. Nos vero, *sine externis auxiliis* aliorum agrum invadentes, in alieno cum iis, qui pro laboribus suis decertant, bellum gerentes, victoriam plerumque obtinemus. Nec ullus hostis in nostras copias frequentes adhuc incidit, simul, cum propter nostrum rerum nauticarum studium, tum etiam propter copias, quas, ex nostrorum civium & subjectorum numero collectas, 8 in diversa terrarum loca dimittimus. Quod si uspiam cum aliqua *nostrarum copiarum* particula manus conferuerint; & quum aliquos de nostris superarunt, omnes a se pulsos gloriantur, & quum victi fuerunt, se ab universis victos fuisse dicunt. Quamquam si otio potius, quam laborum meditatione, nec legibus magis, quam generosis moribus pericula subire velimus: nobis contingit, ut & ærumnis futuris non defatigemur; & quum in ipsas jam veniremus, non minus audaces simus *in his tolerandis*, quam qui perpetuo se exercent.

Hinc etiam accidit, ut cum in hisce rebus tum etiam in aliis nostra civitas admiratione sit digna. Nam elegantiae quidem studemus; *sed* cum frugalitate, & *sine luxu*: & philosophamur; *sed* sine mollitie. Et divitiis in rerum gerendarum opportunitate potius utimur, quam ad inanem verborum jactationem. neque turpe cuiquam est suam paupertatem fateri: *sed* turpe est, non conari eam re ipsa vitare. Et in iisdem hominibus simul & privatarum, & publicarum rerum cura inest. quinetiam aliis, qui opificiis dant operam, hoc adest, ut reipublicæ administrandæ non minus, quam cateri, sint periti. Nos enim soli eum, qui rerum istarum nullam habet notitiam, non otiosum, sed inutilem esse ducimus. Iidem etiam res recte judicamus, & animo concipimus: non existimantes orationem rebus nocere; *sed* potius oratione non prius doceri, quam ad res, quæ sunt gerendæ, exsequen-
das

das accedas, *detrimendo esse ducentes*. Nam hoc quoque præ cæteris eximium habemus, quod & iidem maxime audemus, & quæ *audemus ac aggredimur, ea maxime consideremus*. quod aliis *obesse solet*: nam imperitia quidem, audaciam; consideratio vero *difficultatum ac periculorum*, cunctationem & metum affert. Illi autem jure fortissimi sunt habendi, qui aspera & jucunda manifestissime cognoscunt, nec tamen propterea a periculis adeundis deterrentur. In iis etiam, quæ ad beneficentiam pertinent, a multis discrepamus. nam non accipientes, sed dantes beneficium, amicos nobis comparamus. Is autem, qui dat beneficium, amicus est constantior, ut debitam *sibi gratiam, in eo tueatur*, cui *beneficium benevolentia causa dedit*. Sed qui pro beneficio *accepto gratiam referre debet*, est *in amore* hebetior; quia scit se beneficium non daturum, sed rem debitam persoluturum. Nos etiam soli non magis habita quæstus ratione, quam certâ liberalitate freti, quoslibet magnifice juvamus.

Atque ut rem paucis expediam, dico & totam istam civitatem esse Græciæ magistram, & singulos ejus cives, atque eosdem homines apud nos mihi videri ad plurimarum rerum genera, & cum maxima gratia, maximaque venustate sese idoneos exhibere. Quod autem hæc, quæ in 10 præsentia dicuntur, non magis verborum inani jactatione, quam rerum veritate nitantur, hæc reipublicæ potentia, quam his studiis paravimus, *facile* indicat. Sola enim *omnium* earum, quæ nunc exstant, famam superans, dato documento cognoscitur; solaque ne hostibus quidem sibi bellum inferentibus indignationem affert, quasi clades accipiant a civitate, quæ minorem & potentiam & dignitatem habeat; neque populis subjectis conquerendi materiam præbet, quasi viris imperio indignis pareant. Magnis autem exemplis potentiam relinquentes contestatam,
&

& nostræ ætatis hominibus, & posteris admirationi erimus; ita ut nec Homerum præconem simus desideraturi, nec alium quempiam, qui suis quidem carminibus animos in præsentia demulceat, rerum vero gestarum opinione veritatem lædat: quippe qui terram ubique atque maria nostra audacia nobis pervia esse coëgimus; & malorum, *quibus hostes*, & bonorum, *quibus amicos affecimus*, sempiterna monumenta plurimis in locis ereximus. Pro tali igitur civitate & isti, quod se hac privari iniquum ducerent, fortiter pugnantes occubuerunt; & quemlibet eorum, qui sunt reliqui, pro ipsa labores alacri animo subire decet.

- II Quamobrem etiam orationem de republica *longius* produxi, ut docerem non de re pari nobis certamen esse & *aliis*, qui nihil horum æque habent: simul etiam, ut signis manifestis demonstrarem laudem eorum, quos oratione cohonestandos mihi jam proposui. quanquam maxima pars ipsius *laudationis a me* jam est explicata. Nam in quibus urbem laudavi, iis horum similiumque virtutes illam ornavunt. Neque apud multos Græcorum facile, ut apud hos, dicta factis exæquata appareant. Nam præsens istorum mors virtutem *uniuscujusque* viri declarare, & prima indicare, & postrema confirmare mihi videtur. Etenim æquum est illorum, qui cæteris in rebus fuerunt deteriores, *quam alii*, bellicam pro patria fortitudinem, *qua pollent ipsi*, primo loco poni. Nam benefacto malefacti memoriam delentes, publice plus utilitatis universæ civitati attulerunt, quam privatim suis vitiis eam læserunt. Horum vero nullus divitiarum fructum, quem se in posterum ex ipsis percepturum speraret, *virtuti* anteponebat, mollis *ac ignavus* fuit; neque spe paupertatis *vitanda*, quasi hac vitata dives vel posthac esset

futurus, pericula detrectavit: cum hostium ultionem longe magis quam illorum fruitionem expetendam ducen-
tes, tum hoc omnium pulcerrimum periculum existiman-
tes; hoc subeundo, illos quidem ulcisci, hæc vero asse-
qui voluerunt. incertum quidem rei feliciter gerendæ¹²
eventum spei committentes; id vero quod jam cerneba-
tur, in sua ipsorum virtute, ejusque fiducia ponendum
censentes. atque in eo ipso pulcrius existimantes in ho-
ste propulsando vel ipsam mortem obire, quam cedendo
salutem sibi parere: verborum quidem dedecus vita-
runt, rem vero ipsam corpore pertulerunt; & brevissimo
temporis spatio, brevissimaque fortunæ inclinatione, sum-
ma potius cum gloria, quam cum timore de vita deces-
serunt.

Atque hi quidem, quales eos esse oportuerat, tales in
patriam extiterunt. Reliquos vero tutiorem quidem o-
ptare, sed nequaquam minus audacem in hostes animum
habere velle oportet: nec oratione sola utilitatem spe-
ctare, quam apud vos rerum non minus gnaros, *quam*
ego sum, aliquis dicendo amplificare posset, recensens
quot bona insint in hostium propulsatione; sed potius
hujus reipublicæ potentiam quotidie factis contemplari,
ejusque valde amantes evadere. Et quum hæc *urbs* vo-
bis magna esse videbitur, illud cogitate, viros fortes, &
qui norant quid facere deceret, quique in ipsis rebus
gerendis erubescabant, istam rerum potentiam comparaf-¹³
se: & qui, quoties a rei alicujus tentatæ adeptione a-
berrarunt, non propterea etiam rempublicam sua virtute
fraudandam censuerunt; sed ipsi pulcerrimam collectam
prolixo & libenti animo dederunt. Publice enim cor-
pora dantes, privatim gloriam non senescentem accepe-
runt, & honorificentissimam sepulturam, non *eam* potius,
in

in qua ipsi siti sunt, quam *eam*, in qua ipsorum gloria, in qualibet rerum vel dicendarum vel agendarum occasione, quæ sese offeret, perpetuo celebranda relinquitur. Nam virorum illustrium ~~omnis~~ est regio sepulcrum, neque sola cipporum in domestico inscriptio *virtutem eorum* testatur: sed etiam in alieno *solo* memoria nullis mandata scriptis, magis apud animum cujusque, quam apud sepulcrum exstructum, perpetuo manet. Quos ipsi nunc imitandos vobis proponentes, & felicitatem existimantes esse libertatem, & libertatem esse animi generositatem, bellica pericula subire ne recusetis. Nec enim homines calamitosi, quibus nulla boni spes adest, vitam potius profundere debent, quam illi, quibus, si diutius vivant, fortunæ ex secunda in adversam periculosa & incerta commutatio est extimescenda; & quorum potissimum maxime interest, si quid offenderint. Nam vexatio cum mollitie conjuncta, viro saltem magnanimo est acerbior, quam mors sensu carens, quæ cum fortitudine, simul & cum publica spe, ipsi contingit.

- 14 Quamobrem etiam nunc istorum parentes, quotquot adestis, non magis deflebo, quam consolabor. Hominum enim vitam variis fortunæ casibus obnoxiam esse sciunt. Illi autem felicitatem *sunt adepti*, quibus honestissimus vitæ finis, ut nunc istis *mortuis*, vobis vero mæror obtingit: & quibus datum est, ut *eorum* vita feliciter acta pariter & finita censeatur. Scio autem difficile esse persuadere vobis, quorum monumenta vel sæpius in aliorum rebus secundis habebitis, quibus vos quoque quondam exsultabatis. nec dolor *contingit*, quum quis bonis, quæ nunquam est expertus, privatur: sed quum quis *eo bono* spoliatur, quo frui consueverat. Hoc tamen spe aliorum quoque liberorum tolerandum est illis, qui per ætatem

liberos adhuc suscipere possunt. Nam futura soboles & privatim defunctorum oblivionem nonnullis afferet; & reipublicæ bifariam *proderit*, tum quia *ad urbis frequentiam*, ne deserta relinquatur, tum etiam quia *ad ejus præsidium* conferet. Fieri enim non potest, ut, qui liberos non habent, quos *pro patria* periculis objiciant, perinde atque isti fecerunt, quicquam justum aut æquabile in commune consulant. Quotquot vero ætate jam provecta estis, vitam actam, quæ fuit longior, & in qua floruistis, loco lucri ducite; & reliquam brevem fore existimate, & istorum gloria dolorem levate. Solum enim honoris ^{is} & vera gloria studium non senescit. Neque in ea ætatis infirmitate, quæ hominem reddit inutilem, quæstus, ut nonnulli dicunt, magis delectat, quam ipse honor, quo quis ornatur.

Liberis autem, & fratribus istorum, quotquot hic adestis, magnum certamen *propositum esse* video. Eum enim, qui fato functus est, quilibet laudare solet. Et vix vestræ virtutis exsuperantia *hoc assequi poteritis*, ut non dico pares illis; sed ut paulo inferiores judicemini. Nam livor est inter æmulos, quamdiu vivunt. Sed id, quod nullis est impedimento, & *is qui jam obiit*, benevolentia non æmula colitur. Si quam autem & de virtute mulierum, quæ in viduitate nunc erunt, mentionem me facere oportet, brevi adhortatione rem totam complectar. Nam gloriam magnam adipiscemini, si à pristina vestra natura *sexuque* non desciveritis; & si operam dederitis, ut quam minimum rumoris, sive in bonam, sive in malam partem, de vobis inter mares disseminetur.

Exposui ego quoque oratione, ex legis præscripto, quæcunque ad rem præsentem facere judicavi. & re ipsa qui sepeliuntur, partim quidem jam sunt ornati, partim
vero

vero illorum liberos civitas publice alet ad pubertatem
usque; utilem profecto & istis & posteris coronam hujus-
16 modi *bellicorum* certaminum proponens. Nam apud quos
maxima virtutis præmia proponuntur, in horum etiam
civitate viri præstantissimi versantur. Jam vero, post-
quam vestros quique necessarios deploraveritis, abite.

PLATONIS

Menexenus vel Orat. Funebris.

E FORO venis, Menexene? Aut unde? MEN. E foro ¹⁷
ô Socrates, & e Senatu. SOC. Quid tu ad senatum?
An forte quia disciplina philosophiaeque finem adeptum jam &
satis profecisse te putas, majora posthac aggredi studes, nobis-
que senioribus ipse adeo junior imperare, ut familia vestra sem-
per sicut solita est, aliquem nobis exhibeat consultorem? MEN.
Si ipse permittis, ô Socrates, consulisque, operam dabo. Sin con-
tra, nequaquam. Nunc vero idcirco ad consilium profectus sum,
quoniam audiveram eligendum esse aliquem qui laudibus de-
functos ornet. Nam ut scis, inferias facturi sunt. SOC. Au-
divi equidem, sed quem potissimum elegerunt? MEN. Nul-
lum. Nam in crastinum distulerunt. Arbitror autem Archinum
vel Dionem electum iri. SOC. Videtur, Menexene, apud pluri-
mas gentes praclarum esse in bello occumbere. Etenim qui sic
e vita migrat, funere & sepulchro magnificentissimo honoratur.
Et sive pauper quis ita decedat, laudatione non caret, sive etiam ¹⁸
vilis quispiam & ignavus, rursus a sapientibus viris extollitur:
qui non temere, sed multo tempore composita & consultata ora-
tione tam egregie laudant, ut dum & quae sunt, & quae non
adsunt, de aliquo praedicant, verborum elegantia auditoribus
animos quasi prestigiis veneficiiive quibusdam surripiant atque
subducant. Civitatem quoque interim ut lubet, exornant, &
eos qui in armis occubuerunt, majorumque retexunt nostrorum
originem. Nos quoque ipsos adhuc viventes extollunt. Quapro-
pter ego quidem, Menexene, ab illis laudatus, nescio quomodo
generosum quiddam de me concipio: cumque illis passim aures
praebeo

præbeo, mirifica suavitate demulceor, statimque me maiorem, generosorem, pulchriorem quam antea reputo: ac sæpenumero hospites aliqui mecum hac audinnt, egoque apud illos e vestigio præstantior quam antea reddor. Nempe & illis idem quod mihi videtur accidere tam erga me quam reliquam civitatem. Nam ab oratore protinus persuasi mirabiliorem quam prius civitatem existimant. Atqui gloriosa hac venustas mihi plusquam triduum manet. adeo concinna oratio canoraque vox oratoris ore emanans, auribus meis infunditur, ut vix tandem quarta post die vel quinta mei ipsius reminiscar, & ubinam gentium sim, agnoscam. Ac tunc demum fuisse deceptum animadverto, cum me ante putaverim in beatorum insulis constitutum. Usque adeo Rhetores apud nos ingeniosi sunt. MEN. Semper Rhetores ludis ô Socrates. Nunc autem vereor, ne illi qui eligeretur defutura sit dicendi facultas; subita namque obtrigit optio. Quamobrem cogetur forte quisquis dicturus erit, ex improvviso quodammodo verba facere. SOC. Quinam ô bone vir? singulis enim istorum sunt orationes dudum in hoc compositæ. Tum nec arduum est de his rebus absque meditatione dicere. Si enim oporteret vel in Peloponneso Athenienses, vel Peloponnesiacos Athenis orare, facundo tunc oratore opus esset, qui & persuaderet, & probaretur. Quando autem apud eosdem se quis exercet, quos & laudat, facile ejus verba laudantur. MEN. Facilene istud existimas, Socrates? SOC. Equidem. MEN. An speras eloqui posse te, si opus fuerit, & Senatusconsulto eligaris? SOC. Quid mirum Menexene, me ad dicendum sufficere, qui magistræ haudquaquam imperitam in Rhetorica nactus fuerim, quæ & alios multos eloquentes reddidit oratores, & unum Græcorum omnium præstantissimum filium Xanthippi Periclem? MEN. Quenam ista? Nunquid Aspasiæ dicis? SOC. Et hanc dico, & filium Metrobii Connum. Hi namque duo præceptores mihi sunt, Connus quidem Musica, Aspasia vero Rhetorica. Ita igitur eruditum virum nihil mirum est in his eloquentem

loquentem esse. Quinimo & si quis etiam deterius quam ego doctus fuerit, Musicam quidem a Lampro, Rhetoricam vero ab Antiphonte Rhamnufio, is tamen poterit inter ipsos Athenienses, Athenienses laudando, sic eloqui, ut ejus ab auditoribus oratio probetur. MEN. Quidnam habes quod in medium afferas, si te verba facere oportuerit? SOC. Ex me quidem fortasse nihil. Sed heri Aspasiā ipsam audiui funebrem de his orationem dictantem. Audiverat enim quæ & ipse dicebas, Athenienses aliquem electuros esse qui de his orationem haberet. Deinde partim mihi ex improvviso quæ dicenda forent, partim meo quidem judicio præmeditata exponens, funebrem orationem contexit, quam dixit Pericles reliquias quasdam ex illa componens. MEN. Nunquid recordareris quæ dicebat Aspasia? SOC. Equidem, nisi injurius sim. Ab ea namque edidici, parumque absuit quin propter oblivionem plagis illa me caderet. MEN. Cur non refers? SOC. Vereor ne magistra mihi subirascat, si orationem illius edidero. MEN. Nullo, pacto Socrates. Verum gratificare mihi, seu Aspasiæ, sive cujuslibet alterius orationem dicere placet, dicas modo. SOC. Forte me ridebis, si senex adhuc joculari tibi visus fuero. MEN. Absit & Socrates. Dic amabo. SOC. Mos tibi gerendus est. Ferme namque si nudatum me saltare juberet, quando quidem soli sumus, obsequeret. Sed audi jam. Hunc enim in modum, ut arbitror, loqui cœpit, sumens ab ipsis defunctis exordium.

RE quidem ipsa iusta his apud nos exhibita sunt, quæ jam assequuti iter fatale peragunt, tam publice a civitate, quam privatim a suis magnifico sumptu, & frequenti concursu dimissi. Verbis vero laudationem addi lex jubet, ac profecto ita decet. Bene siquidem rebus gestis ex ipsa verborum exornatione, ad eos qui gesserunt apud auditores memoria perennis splendorque provenit. Ea vero opus est oratione, quæ defunctos fatis laudet, superstites

stites benigne moneat, filios eorum fratresque ad virtutis ipsorum imitationem hortetur: parentes autem, & majores alios siqui supersunt, consoletur. Quæ igitur nobis talis erit oratio? vel unde potissimum præclaros laudare viros incipiemus, qui viventes virtute propria suos mirifice delectavere, & pro salute viventium offerre se morti non dubitarunt?

22 Videtur itaque mihi oportere secundum naturam ut boni effecti sunt, ita eos laudare: boni autem ideo proveniunt, quia ex bonis traxerunt originem. Quapropter generosam primo illorum stirpem laudemus. Deinde educationem & disciplinam. Postremo narremus, ita ab eis fuisse res gestas, ut maxime decebat eos, qui essent ex talibus oriundi, & ita postmodum educati.

Prima quidem generis horum laus est, quod majorum origo haud peregrina fuit, neque successores hos ita hic reliquit velut inquilinos novosque homines, ex advenis genitos: sed indigenas ac revera in patria habitantes, viventesque & nutritos non a noverca quidem, ut alii, sed ab ipsa matre ipsorum regione quam habitarunt: in qua & nunc conduntur vita functi, ipsis videlicet in visceribus ejus quæ peperit eos, & nutriit & excepit. Par est enim matrem ipsam ante omnia honorare: nam ita maxime horum genus excolitur. Est autem regio hæc non solum nobis, sed omnibus hominibus celebranda, cum aliis multis de causis, tum ex hoc præcipue quia diis charissima est. Quod testatur deorum de hac inter se concertatio. Ea vero quæ a diis laudata est, cur non a cunctis hominibus collaudetur? Altera ejus laus erit, quod eo tempore quo tellus omnia animalia omnigena producebat, feras, & pascencia omnia, terra duntaxat nostra ad hæc sterilis erat, agrestibusque animalibus vacua. Proprie vero ex omnibus animantibus hominem genuit, qui cæ-

teris intelligentia præstat, solusque jus ac deos animadvertit. Quod vero hæc regio & eorum quos pro concione celebramus & nostros majores progenuit, hinc evidentissime licet cognoscere: quia omne quod gignit, alimentum conveniens genito continet. Quo plane discernitur, mulier illa quæ peperit, ab ea quæ infantem simulando supposuit: nam quæ peperit, lacte abundat ad ejus quod genitum est alimoniam, alia vero nequaquam. Tellus itaque nostra materque perspicuum argumentum præbet, quod homines procreaverit. Nam & sola & prima tunc pabula humana porrexit, tritici hordeique fruges, quibus commodissime genus hominum alitur, utpote quæ vere animal id produxerit. Potius autem de²⁴ terra quam de muliere conjectare id licet. Neque enim terra mulierem conceptu partuque sed terram mulier imitatur. Hujusmodi vero pabulum sine invidia non hominibus solum abunde, verum etiam brutis subministravit. Posthæc oleum laborum subsidium natis suis suppeditavit. Nutritis autem adultisque filiis principes præceptoresque deos induxit. Quorum nunc prætermittenda sunt nomina. Neque enim nos latet qui vitam nostram munierint, tam artium inventionem ad quotidianum victum spectantium, quam traditione peritiaque armorum ad regionis ipsius custodiam. Ita majores horum geniti atque educati Rempub. instituerunt. Qua de recte habet si paucis dicamus. Res enim pub. hominum educatrix est, bona quidem bonorum, contrariorum vero contraria.

Quod ergo in præclara Repub. enutriti sunt nostri majores, declarandum est, cujus beneficio, & illi qui nunc sunt superstites boni evaserunt, & ipsi adeo illi qui honestam mortem obierunt. Eadem namque Respub.²⁵ forma quondam, quæ nunc; optimatum videlicet gubernatio,

natio, sub qua & his temporibus ac ferme semper ex eo tempore degimus. Eam quidam popularem vocant, alii aliter, utcunque placet. Est autem revera hæc optimum cum quadam auctoritate populi gubernatio. Semper enim nobis reges sunt, alias generis successionem, alias electione creati, sed auctoritatis civitatis plurimum apud populum, qui semper his qui optimi judicantur magistratus impertit. Ubi neque parentum debilitate vel paupertate vel ignobilitate quisquam rejicitur, neque contrariis de causis honoratur ut in aliis civitatibus fieri solet. Sed una hæc est regula ad munerum rationem definiendam. Quicumque sapiens aut bonus habetur, dominatur & imperat. Causa nobis gubernationis hujusmodi, ex æquo generatio est. Aliæ siquidem civitates sunt ex variis dissimilibusque generibus constitutæ: quo fit, ut inæquales sint & gubernationes, tyrannides, paucorumque potentia. In quibus ita homines vivunt, ut se invicem partim dominos, partim servos existiment. Nos autem nostrique una ex matre omnes, fratres invicem geniti, haud arbitramur invicem nos dominos & servos
 26 esse: sed generationis æqualitas nos inducit, ut & legis quæramus æqualitatem, neque rei prorsus ulli nisi opinioni virtutis prudentiaque cedamus. Quapropter & nostri & horum parentes, & hi honeste creati, & in omni libertate nutriti, multa atque præclara facinora apud omnes gentes notissima privatim & publice ediderunt, existimantes libertatis gratia tam adversus Græcos pro Græcis aliis quam adversus barbaros pro cunctis Græcis esse pugnandum.

Enimvero quo pacto in bello juverint Argivos quondam adversus Cadmios, & Heraclidas adversus Argivos, cum Eumolpus & Amazones, ac etiam cum his superiores regionem invaderent, nimis angustum tempus est pro

dignitate referre, & poetæ illorum virtutem eleganter carminibus celebrantes in omnes gentes divulgaverunt. Quare si nos eadem nudo sermone repetere nunc aggredieremur, forte videremur illis esse secundi. Hæc igitur ob hanc causam arbitror dimittenda, quandoquidem pro dignitate jam satis celebrata videntur. Quæ vero nondum ut rerum dignitas exigit a poetarum aliquo decantata sunt, necdum tamen ab oblivione quisquam vindicavit, hæc nobis prædicanda nunc arbitror, ut & nos ea laudemus & adiuvemus, provocemusque alios ad eadem odibus aliisque carminibus ut decens est exornanda.

Eorum autem quæ dico, prima hæc extant. Persas profecto cum Asiæ imperarent, & Europæ dominarentur, regionis hujus homines primi inhibuerunt, hinc quidem oriundi, nostri autem progenitores: quorum meminisse, virtutemque laudare & oportet in primis & decet. Eam namque nosse oportet, si quis sufficienter laudaturus sit res ab illis eo in tempore gestas, quo Asia omnis tertio jam regi servierat. Quorum primus Cyrus magnitudine quadam animi cives suos Persas in libertatem redigens, simul dominos Medos subiecit, totique Asiæ usque ad Ægyptum imperavit. Filius autem ejus Ægypto quoque & Libyæ, quousque penetrare dabatur. Tertius Darius, pedestri pugna usque ad Scythas extendit imperium. Navali autem, mari, & insulis est dominatus. Quo factum est, ut repugnare illi nullus auderet. Animi quidem hominum omnes servili quadam formidine abjecti jam erant: adeo multæ, frequentes, & bellicosæ gentes sub Persarum imperio tenebantur. Nos autem Eretrienfesque accusans Darius quasi Sardibus insidiaremur, & hanc belli occasionem nactus, quingenta hominum milia classibus misit, naves vero trecentas, hisque Datim præfecit, atque illi mandavit, ut captivos ad eum Eretrienfesque

trienesque & Athenienses duceret, si suum ipsius caput
salvum esse vellet. Ille navibus advectus Eretriam, ubi
non pauci erant, ac præterea in rebus bellicis inter Græ-
cos eorum temporum illustrissimos numerabantur, triduo
eos captivos fecit, ac omnem regionem sic exploravit, ut
ne ulli esset effugiendi locus: hoc scilicet modo: Nem-
pe ad fines Eretriæ profecti milites ejus, & a mari in
mare sese extendentes, discurrentesque junctis invicem
manibus universam regionem protinus percurrerunt, ut
regi referre possent, neminem se subterfugisse. Eodem
consilio ex Eretria Marathonem descenderunt, utpote
quod illis ad id aptissimum erat, ut Athenienses una cum
Eretrienfibus quasi sub eodem jugo ducerent captivos.
His autem partim quidem ita peractis, partim vero ten-
tatis, nullus Græcorum præter Lacedæmonios Eretrien-
29 sibus Atheniensibusve succurrit. Et ii sequenti post pu-
gnam die venerunt, cæteri autem omnes perterriti sunt,
ac bene secum agi putantes si periculum præsens evade-
rent, quieverunt. Ex hoc intueri licet quanta illorum
virtus fuerit, qui in Marathone barbarorum impetum su-
stinuerunt, eorumque superbiam domuerunt. Primi sane
de barbaris triumpharunt, & exemplo reliquis ostende-
runt, Persarum vim haud inexpugnabilem esse, imo vero
& multitudinem omnem, & divitiarum copiam virtuti
parere. Eos equidem viros non modo nostrorum corpo-
rum genitores, sed & libertatis tum nostræ, tum omnium
qui in hujusmodi habitant continenti, auctores arbitror
extitisse. His namque exemplis provocati posteriores
Græci in sequentibus bellis pericula omnia pro salute
sua subire non dubitarunt, discipuli profecto illorum qui
30 in Marathone Persas profligaverunt. Primam itaque pal-
mam oratione illis tribuere decet, secundam vero iis qui
circa Salaminam Artemisiumque hostes prælio navali vi-
cerunt.

cerunt. Multa nempe ab his viris gesta narrare possemus, & quantos casus sustinuerint terrâ marique, quamque forti animo eos propulsarunt. Quod autem præ cæteris egregium puto, nunc referam. Nam quod restabat post bellum Marathonicum, perfecerunt. Siquidem qui in Marathone certarunt, hoc tantum Græcis demonstraverunt, quod terrestri pugna pauci quidem Græci multorum impetum barbarorum frangere possent. Maritima vero victoria adhuc incerta, existimabanturque Persæ in maritimis præliis, & multitudine & divitiis arteque & robore inexpugnabiles esse. Hoc itaque in his qui tunc navibus pugnare, laude dignum est, quod metum Græcis insitum penitus depulerunt, feceruntque ne amplius navium virorumque numerum pertimescerent. Utrisque his factum est, tam in Marathone terra pugnantibus, quam mari postea circa Salaminam, ut reliqui Græci & docerentur & provocarentur, ab illis quidem terra, ab³¹ his autem mari, ad prælia contra barbaros intrepide committenda. Tertium assero quod in Plateis gestum est, & numero & virtute, salutis Græcæ causâ extitisse. Commune vero id jam Lacedæmoniis, & Atheniensibus facinus. Igitur omnes hi Græci in summis a nobis, & a posteris laudabuntur.

Posthæc multæ insuper Græcorum urbes adhuc sub barbaris erant. Rex autem minabatur Græcos se iterum invasurum. Decet profecto illos commemorare, qui superiorum operibus salutis extremam manum imposuerunt, cum omnem ex mari barbariem, depulissent. Hi vero fuerunt qui circa Eurymedontem classe pugnarunt, & in Cyprum militaturi se contulerunt: itemque in Ægyptum navigare, plurimasque alias terrarum oras peragrarunt. Horum meminisse oportet, his gratia est habenda, quod regem perterritum coegerunt
de

de salute sua cogitare potius quam ad Græcorum perniciem insidias tendere. Atque id bellum per omnes urbes diffusum fuit, dum Græci seiplos omnesque linguæ ejusdem homines adversus barbaros tutarentur.

Pace vero demum confecta, honorataque civitate, contigit ei quod solet ab hominibus in eos quibus prospere res succedunt oriri, primo quidem æmulatio, ab æmulatione deinde invidia, quæ hanc civitatem invitam in bellum cum Græcis gerendum traxit. Post hæc inito bello in Tanagra congressi sunt, pro libertate Bœotiorum adversus Lacedæmonios concertantes. Cumque incertus pugnae esset eventus, quod postea sequutum est, rem ipsam aperuit. Plerique sane aufugerunt destituentes Bœotios, quibus auxilium allaturi convenerant. Nostri autem die tertia in OEnophitis potiti victoria, eos qui injuste fugerant, iuste reduxerunt. Hi utique primi post bellum Persicum Græcis gratia libertatis auxiliati contra Græcos, viri quidem præclari, & libertatis auctores his quibus opem tulerant, his in monumentis honorati a civitate priores sunt positi. His vero peractis, cum increbresceret bellum, Græcique omnes sumptis armis regionem devastarent, ubique indebitam gratiam referrent, eos nostri navali prælio superarunt, & eorum duces Lacedæmonios comprehenderunt: quos quamvis jugulare liceret, dimiserunt, pacemque firmarunt, existimantes adversus ejusdem generis homines ad victoriam usque pugnandum, neque ob propriam civitatis indignationem Græcorum communionem penitus dissolvendam, sed adversus barbaros ad necem usque certandum. Hos itaque laudare viros decet, qui hoc bello peracto hic jacent, quoniam ostenderunt inanem esse illorum suspensionem, siqui Atheniensem virtuti diffusi opinentur in primo contra barbaros bello alios quosdam præstantiores Atheniensibus extitisse. Hi enim

enim omnis cum Græcia seditionibus agigaretur, ipsique viros cæteris Græcis præstantiores bello superatos comprehendissent, declaraverunt eos seorsum se vincere, quibuscum communiter barbaros expugnaverant.

34

Tertium post pacem hanc bellum improvisum & grave exortum est, in quo cum multi fortesque viri occubissent, hic conduntur. Quorum multi circa Siciliam plurimis sunt potiti victoriis pro salute Leontinorum, quibus jurejurando astricti opem ferebant, quo foedere ad ea loca navigaverant. Cum vero diuturna esset navigatio, ac interim rerum discrimine penuriaque civitas premere-
tur, neque illis posset succurrere, negatis subsidiis res eorum haud prospere successerunt. Quorum hostes belloque adversarii majorem temperantiæ virtutisque laudem quam amici aliorum habent. Multi præterea navali bello per Hellespontum die una omnes adversariorum naves ceperunt, plurimasque alias devicerunt. Bellum vero idcirco insperatum durumque vocavi, quia nullus existimasset reliquos omnes Græcos contra civitatem tam acerrimo studio contentionis accendi, ut regem illum barbarum infensissimum, quem una nobiscum expulerant, rursus per legatos ad bellum Græcis inferendum irritare non dubitarent, & universos tum Græcos, tum barbaros ad hanc urbem obsidendam colligere. Ubi præcipue po-
tentia virtusque civitatis hujus effulgit. Nam cum existimarent eam jam succubuisse, navesque obsessæ circa Mitylenem essent, ipsi auxilium laturo sexaginta naves ingressi, viri quidem sine controversia fortes, hostem profligarunt, liberarunt amicos, cum indigno casu circumventi, non autem mari interfecti essent, hic jacent. Quorum semper cum laude meminisse decet. Nam illorum virtute non modo tunc ex navali certamine, sed reliquo etiam prælio victoriam reportamus. Etenim propter illos

los tantam est nostra civitas gloriam consecuta, ut nunquam expugnari posse nec ab omnibus quidem hominibus crederetur. Quod certe haud procul a veritate abest. Neque enim aliorum insidiis viribusque, sed propria defensione devicti sumus. Nempe nunc etiam ab exteris sumus invicti. Sed ipsi nos expugnavimus, nobis ipsis succubuimus.

Post hæc tempora pacatis omnibus, cumque aliis pace confecta, intestina nobis seditio coorta est, in qua se ita gesserunt, ut si quidem omnino fatis decretum esset homines seditionibus agitari, nemo videatur aliter ægrotare patriam optaturus. Nam ex Piræo & Urbe quam benigne atque domestice præter cæterorum Græcorum opinionem cives invicem conflixerunt! bellumque adversus eos qui Eleusine erant concitum, quam moderate transegerunt atque sedarunt! Horum profecto omnium alia nulla est causa præter veram ipsam cognationem, quæ amicitiam firmam atque cognatam non sermone, sed re his hominibus indidit. Oportet autem eos etiam qui hoc in bello mutuis vulneribus conciderunt, memoria colere, & utcunque possumus, inter se eos conciliare votis sacrificiisque pro illis qui superavere peractis, quandoquidem & nos conciliati sumus. Neque enim improbitate inimicitiisque sed infelicitate quadam manus invicem conseruerunt. Horum vero testes sumus ipsi superstites. Nam cum illis genere conjuncti simus, mutuo damus veniam, & recipimus, siquid vel in alium intulimus, vel perpeffi sumus ab alio.

Deinde cum in summa rerum tranquillitate quiesceret civitas, barbaris quidem ignoscebat, quod infestati ab illa satis fortiter repugnauerant: Græcis autem indignabatur, quia pro acceptis beneficiis injuriam quandoque retulerant, dum societatem cum barbaris inirent, navesque quibus

bus fuerant servati, diriperent, dissiparentque muros quibus nos mœnia eorum ne corruerent, quandoque defendissemus. Instituit itaque civitas ultra haud tueri Græcos, siquando vel a Græcis, vel a barbaris opprimerentur. Cum vero nos in hac essemus sententia constituti, putarentque Lacedæmonii nos libertatis tutores jacere, opus vero suum fore posthæc, ut alios subjugarent, sic egerunt. Quid multis opus est verbis? Neque enim vetera, neque multis retro seculis gesta dicerem quæ sequuntur. Neque nos latet, perterritos Græcorum primos Argivos, Bœotios, Corinthios auxilium civitatis hujus imploravisse.

Quodque omnium divinissimum est, rex ipse tanta est indigentia pressus, ut non aliunde quam ex hac civitate quam omni studio diruere conatus fuerat, salutem suam tutari posse confideret. Enimvero si quis hanc civitatem incusare jure voluerit, hoc duntaxat objicere poterit, quod³⁸ misericordia nimis semper afficiatur, diligentiusque sublevat succumbentem. Ea siquidem tempestate tolerare non potuit, quodve instituerat ultra servare. Decreverat sane nullis unquam eorum a quibus injuriam accepisset, succumbentibus opem ferre. Mutavit tamen propositum, & auxilium præstitit. Unde Græcos liberavit a servitute, ita ut liberi vixerint donec ipsi se invicem subjugarunt. Regi vero succurrere ausa est minime. Verebatur enim triumphos ex Marathone, Salamina, Plataeis antea reportatos. Sed quum sineret fugitivos & volones opem ferre, sine controversia eum quoque servavit. Struatis autem muris, fabricatisque navibus, belloque suscepto quando coacta est bellum gerere, pro Pariorum salute contra Lacedæmonios dimicavit. Metuens vero civitatem rex, postquam Lacedæmonios viderat navale bellum renuere, & idcirco deficere volens, postulavit Græcos qui in continenti erant, quos prius ipsi Lacedæmonii exhi-

exhibuerant, si propugnandum foret nobiscum cæterisque belli sociis, arbitratus hoc sibi negatum iri, quod definiendi a nobis occasionem nancisceretur. Ubi a propugnatoribus sociisque aliis est deceptus. Namque exhibere illi voluerunt, conveneruntque jurejurando adhibito Corinthii, Argivi, Bœotii, cæterique belli socii, si daret pecunias, ut eos illi qui in continenti erant Græcos traderent. Soli vero neque tradere, neque jurare tunc ausi sumus.

Usque adeo mos civitatis hujus generosus, liber, constans, integer, & natura barbaris est infensus, propterea quod homines hi absque ulla barbarorum commixtione puri integrique sunt Græci. Neque enim miscentur nobiscum Pelopes, aut Cadmii, aut Ægyptii, Danaive, aliique permulti, natura quidem barbari, lege solummodo Græci, sed ipsi Græci duntaxat nulla prorsus infecti barbarorum confusione perseveramus. Quæ quidem puritas odium huic civitati adversus genus alienum ingenuit. Soli rursus purique ex hoc perseveravimus, quod opus profanum perpetrare noluimus, Græcosque barbarorum manibus tradere. Ad hæc igitur descendentes, ex quibus primo superati fuimus, favente Deo, felicius quam tunc bellum constituimus. Nam retinentes naves, muros, nostrasque colonias, a bello liberati sumus: adeo libenter & hostes ipsi destiterunt. Viros tamen fortes hoc quoque in bello amisimus, partim apud Corinthum regionis asperitate, & angustia interceptos, partim proditione apud Lechæum profligatos. Insignes quoque viri, qui & regem liberavere, & ex mari Lacedæmonios expulerunt. Quos ego equidem in memoriam vobis reduco. Vos autem viros hujusmodi collaudare celebrareque decet.

Atque opera quidem hæc virorum hic jacentium, cæterorumque omnium quicumque pro patria obierunt, quæ relata sunt, multa sunt, atque præclara: sed quæ restant, plura admodum præstantioraque sunt. Atqui dies multi vix noctesque sufficerent, si quis omnia complecti voluerit. His ergo memoria repetitis, unumquemque virum oportet natos horum assidue exhortari, ut tanquam in bello majorum suorum ordinem servant, neque per ignaviam aufugiant. Equidem ô virorum præstantium filii, vos ipse & in præsentia exhortor, & in posterum quemcunque vestrum nactus fuero, admonebo semper, & cohortabor, ut quam optimi evadere contendatis. Nunc quoque par est vobis referre quæ nobis patres vestri mandarunt posteris prædicare siquid paterentur, cum foret periclitandum. Recensebo igitur vobis in præsentia quæ ex illis ipsis audiui, quæve ipsi nunc vobis, si facultas daretur, libenter præciperent. Conjecturam equidem ex illis quæ quondam dicebant, facio. Existimate vero nunc quæ referam illos ipsos audire loquentes. Hunc autem in modum exorsi sunt.

Quod ex præclaris parentibus orti estis ô filii, præsentia vobis testantur: profecto cum nobis liceret turpiter vivere, honeste emori maluimus, quam vos cæterosque posteros infamiae cuiquam subicere, ac parentibus nostris majoribusque dedecori esse, putantes homini suos dedecoranti non esse vivendum. Ei namque neque in vita, neque post mortem amicum aliquem esse, vel hominum vel deorum. Oportet igitur vos verborum nostro-
rum memores, siquid aliud exercetis, cum virtute exercere, scientes absque virtute exercitationes & possessiones omnes turpes malasque esse. Divitiæ namque splendorem afferunt nullum eas cum ignavia possidenti. Neque enim sibi hic, sed alteri parat possidetque divitias.

Ne-

Neque forma corporis atque robur timido ac parvo cum
insunt, decorem præstant. Eum namque dedecent, notio-
rem efficiunt, ignaviam patefaciunt. Præterea scientia
quævis si a justitia & reliqua virtute sejungatur non sa-
pientia, sed calliditas esse videtur. Quorum causa &
primo, & postremo, atque per omnia omni studio dili-
gentiaque contendite, ut & nos, & majores nostros vir-
tutis gloria superetis. Alioquin scitote, si vobis virtute
præstemus, victoriam hanc nobis dedecus allaturam, sin
superemur a vobis, felicitatem. Ita vero maxime nos qui-
dem superabimur, vos autem superabitis, si ea ratione vi-
tam instituetis, ut majorum gloria non abutamini, neque
eam ut ita dixerimus, expendatis erogetisque, scientes vi-
ro aliquid esse se existimanti nihil turpius posse accidere,
quam seipsum honorandum non propriam ob virtutem,
sed propter gloriam superiorum præbere. Gloria enim
parentum natis præclarus est magnificusque thesaurus.
43 Uti vero pecuniarum honorumque thesauro, & hunc ad
posteror non transfundere, propriæ possessionis gloriæque
defectu, turpiter & a viri generositate penitus alienum.
Si igitur hæc exercueritis, quum debito fato concesseri-
tis chari ad nos filii charos parentes proficiscemini. Sin
autem neglexeritis hæc, & improbi evaseritis, nemo vos
libens excipiet. Natis quidem nostris hæc sint dicta.

Patres autem nostros, ac matres, sicui nostrum super-
sunt atque consolatione indigent, consolari oportet, quia
deceat facile quæcunque acciderint ferre, neque cum il-
lis una deplorandus est casus; lamentationibus enim alio-
rum non indigebunt: satis enim fors tristitiæ illis infe-
ret. Mederi profecto lenireque oportet, & in primis il-
lud commemorare, quod maxima eorum quæ exoptare
solent, exaudientes dii jam tribuerunt. Neque enim im-
mortales sibi filios dari, sed bonos & illustres optabant.

Cujus

Cujus quidem voti compotes effecti sunt, quod maximum existimandum est bonum. Omnia vero mortali viro ad votum in vita succedere, haud facile est. Atqui si ⁴⁴ fortem forti animo tolerabunt, videbuntur revera fortium filiorum parentes ipsique fortes esse. Sin autem dolori succumbent, suspicionem hominibus inferent, ne forte aut parentes nostri minime sint, aut qui nos laudibus efferunt, mentiantur. At horum neutrum evenire oportet, imo vero laudatores nostros re ipsa præcipue illos esse, ostendentes se revera parentes viros esse virorum. Enimvero vetus illud proverbium, Nequid nimis, scite dictum videtur. Nam qui ita se comparavit, ut ex ipso pendeant omnia quæ ad beatitudinem ei conferunt, aut quamproxime ad hoc accedat, ut nec ex aliis pendeat hominibus, qui si vel bene vel male agant, hic sua quoque mutare cogatur: is optime vitam instituit, temperans, fortis, prudens is est: hic sive pecunias nanciscatur ac filios, sive amittat, proverbio semper parebit. Nunquam enim nimis aut lætitia exultabit, aut dolore dejectetur, propterea quod ipsi pareat. Tales esse & nostros debere judicamus, & volumus. Atqui & in præsentia nos ⁴⁵ ipsos tales penitus exhibemus, haud certe perturbatos, vel nimio metu perterritos, si nunc vita decedere nos oporteat. Oramus quoque patres nostros ac matres, ut similiter affecti vitam futuram agant, scientes quod non lamentationibus ejulationibusque maxime nobis gratificabuntur: verum si quis est his, qui defuncti sunt, sensus viventium, ita maxime nobis molesti futuri sunt, si seipsum perdidierint, & inique sortem tulerint: sin autem moderate ac leviter, nobis summopere obsequentur: nostra porro eum jam finem habebunt, qui hominibus est pulcherrimus. Quamobrem collaudanda sunt potius quam deplenda. Profecto si uxores nostras filiosque tuebuntur,

&

& nutrient, & his incumbant, ita maxime casus oblivioni mandabunt, pulchriusque & rectius nobisque gratius vitam agent.

Hæc igitur nostro nomine nostris prædicare sufficiet. Civitati vero mandamus, ut parentum nostrorum filiorumque curam habeat; & hos quidem honeste erudiat, illorum vero senium digne foveat. Cognovimus certe vos, etiamsi hæc minime præceperimus, optime curaturos.

Hæc igitur ô filii defunctorum atque parentes, ut moneremus illi mandarunt: ego vero quantum possum, diligentissime moneo, eorumque nomine obsecro, juniores quidem, ut præclaras suorum res imitentur: seniores autem, ut de se optime sperent. Nempe senectutem vestram privatim publiceque alemus: & quemcunque ex illorum progenie nacti fuerimus, summa benevolentia complectemur. Civitatis vero providentiam ipsi minime ignoratis, quæ statutis legibus, parentes & filios eorum qui in bello interiere, tutatur, & ante alios cives summo magistratui talium committit curam, ne ulla prorsus injuria parentes horum afficiantur. Filios autem educat ipsa studetque ut illis ignota sit orbitas. Nam ipsa parentis gerit vicem & dum pueri sunt, & cum ad maturam ætatem venerunt, ad officia sua transmittit, omni armatura fulcit & ornat, patris studia ostendit, & memorat, dum paternæ virtutis tribuit instrumenta. At simul auspicii gratia jubet tunc primum domum paternam ingredi filium quasi imperaturum, & armis cum robore fultum. Eos præterea qui decesserunt e vita, honorat, ceremonias quotannis lege decretas communiter cunctis instaurans, quæ privatim unicuique proprie peragi solent. Gymnica item certamina equestriaque instituit, musicosque ludos varios adhibet. Ac profecto quod ad defunctos spectat, hæredis & filii subit conditionem: quoad
filios

filios, patris: quoad parentes cæterosque hujusmodi, curatoris, omni diligentia semper omnibus providens. Quarum rerum animadversione quæ acciderunt, æquo animo ferre debetis. Nam hoc pacto & mortuis, & viventibus eritis gratiores, facileque curabitis, & facile curabimini. Nunc vero vos, ac cæteri omnes qui communiter secundum legem eos qui naturæ cesserunt, jam lugubribus expiationibus profecti estis, abite.

Hic est δ Menexene, Aspasiæ Milesiæ sermo. MEN. 48
Per Jovem δ Socrates, beatam dicis Aspasiam, si cum mulier sit, tales potest orationes componere. SOC. At si minus credis, sequere me, dicentem ipsam audies. MEN. Sæpenumero cum Aspasia fui, Socrates, & qualis sit, novi. SOC. Cur igitur eam non veneraris? Cur non habes propter hanc orationem illi gratiam? MEN. Ingentem equidem habeo gratiam mulieri huic, seu viro, quisquis tibi orationem hanc tradidit. Ac præ cæteris multis narranti gratiam habeo. SOC. Bene quidem. Sed ne me prodas, ut deinceps multas ejus præclarasque de civilibus rebus orationes tibi recenseam. MEN. Bono animo es. Non prodam. Referas modo. SOC. Fiet ut postulas.

L R S I Æ
F U N E B R I S O R A T I O
I N
C O R I N T H I O R U M S O C I O S .

⁴⁹ **S**I existimarem, ò adstantes, ullo modo fieri posse ut ad hunc tumulum verbis aliquis declararet eorum fortissimorum hominum qui hic jacent virtutem, improbasssem nimirum istorum consilium qui oratorem intra paucissimos dies concludere. Jam vero cum universa ætas omnibus hominibus non sufficiat ad orationem elaborandam eorum factis adæquatam, inde adeo nostra civitas mihi videtur non nisi oratorum existimationi consulens munus illud ex subito demandare, reputans ea potissimum ratione fore ut illi ab auditoribus veniam consequerentur. Veruntamen cum de iis hominibus oratio mihi sit habenda,
⁵⁰ contentio tamen nostra neutiquam cum eorum rebus gestis futura est, sed cum illis qui ante me verba fecere. Tantam enim dicendi copiam comparavit eorum hominum virtus, tum illis qui res gestas versibus includere possint, tum illis qui perorare velint, ut cum multa egregia a superioribus de iis jam dicerentur, tum multa etiam ab illis præteriri, & posterioribus materia satis ampla ad dicendum relinqui videretur. Nullæ quippe sunt regiones, nulla maria quo eorum virtus non se extenderit, sed omnimodo apud universas ubique gentes qui suas calamitates lamentantur nostrorum hominum virtutes prædicant.

Statutum est igitur primo majorum nostrorum res gestas vetustati consecratas verbis recensere, quarum memoriam suppeditabit communis hominum fama. Æquum est enim ut in omnium hominum sensibus eorum recordatio efflorescat, ut eos scilicet in poetarum versibus de-

E

cantent,

cantent, ut una laudent in bonorum hominum commemorationibus, in hujusmodi maxime tempestatibus debita reverentia prosequantur, & ex defunctorum denique exemplis posterorum consulant disciplinæ. Amazones enim, id quod longe est antiquissimum, Martis erant filiæ: Incolebant illæ juxta Thermodonta fluvium, solæ ex finitimis regionibus quæ ferro armabantur, omnium vero primæ quæ vehebantur equis, quorum ope propter hostium imprudentiam fugientes præter fidem antevertebant, persequentes autem longe post se relinquebant. Existima-⁵¹ bantur autem potius ex audacia esse viri quam ex sexu mulieres. Plus enim videbantur viris animo superesse quam specie cedere. Illæ multarum gentium imperio potitæ, debellatis jam undequaque finitimis, & ad aures tandem pertingente hujusce populi fama, magna inde nominis celebritate, hinc plurima spe arrectæ, adsumptis in societatem bellicosissimis nationibus, huic civitati bellum intulere. Ibi demum viros nactæ fortissimos eam solam expromebant virtutem quæ sexui competebat; & opinione deceptæ potius ex magnitudine periculorum quam dissimilitudine corporum mulieres esse videbantur. Omnium autem solis illis non contigit ut ex erroribus admonitæ de futuro rectius consulerent, neque ut domum reversæ renunciarent suam calamitatem & majorum nostrorum virtutem. In prælio enim cadentes & suæ temeritatis persolventes pœnas huic civitati immortale virtutis nomen pepererunt; suæ autem patriæ memoriam propter universam stragem penitus delerunt. Ita illæ alienæ regionis injuria appetentes jure suam perdidere.

Deinde autem Adraсто & Polynice adversus Thebas ex-⁵² peditionem fuscipientibus & in acie cæsis, cum Cadmei humari cadavera bello interfectorum prohiberent, Majores nostri rati illos, si quid deliquissent, jam morte summum supplicium persolvissse, debito autem jure fraudari Deos

Deos Manes, & neglectis religionibus profanari etiam Superos, ibi primum missis præconibus per gratiam orant uti illis de jure sepulturæ concederent; existimabant enim virorum esse fortium a vivis quidem hostibus pœnas reposcere: imbellium sibi que ipsis diffidentium in defunctorum cadaveribus magnanimitatem suam velle expromere. His autem non impetratis copias eduxerunt, non veteribus Thebanorum inimiciis adducti, neque ideo quod Argivorum qui supererant gratiam aucuparentur: verum profecto æquum esse rati ut bello cæsi in communia mortuorum jura reciperentur, pro utrisque adversus alteros 53 periculum subiere: pro Thebanis, ut non amplius in mortuorum jura peccantes Deos pergerent contumelia laceffere: pro Argivis, ne domum reverterentur frustrati patriis religionibus, communi Græcorum jure privati & publica omnium spe & expectatione destituti: ita animati & secum reputantes belli fortunas communes omnium hominum esse, hostes quidem nacti plurimos, verum justitiam commilitonem, acies conserunt, & vincunt. Tum vero non secundis rebus elati ulteriores pœnas ab hostibus postulabant, verum illis pro eorum impietate suam virtutem demonstrabant, ipsi autem ea præmia consecuti quorum gratia venerant, Argivorum cadavera in Eleusine Atticæ sepeliebant. Tales igitur erga interemptos in bello contra Thebas exstiterunt.

Procedente tempore cum jam Hercules inter homines esse desivit, ejus autem posterì Eurystheos immanitatem fugientes ab omnibus Græciæ civitatibus exterminabantur, (quæ, cum re vera crudelitatis pudebat, Eurystheos tamen potentiam reformidabant) ii ad nostram civitatem 54 appulsi supplices ad Aram Misericordiæ confugiunt. Quos cum exposcebat Eurystheus, majores nostri tradere noluerunt, Herculis virtutem magis reveriti quam de proprio ipsorum discrimine solliciti, & sustinuerunt potius pro

imbecilliorum salute, Iustitia comite, dimicare, quam
 potentioribus obsequentes laceratam ab iis gentem rursus
 in cladem tradere. Impetu igitur ab Eurysthe facto cum
 iis qui tunc temporis Peloponnesum incolebant, Atheni-
 enses non, propius adventante periculo, eo animum aut
 consilium mutarunt, sed eandem quam olim mentem con-
 firmate gerebant, non idcirco quod pater quidquam de ci-
 vitate meruit, vel quidquam omnino de liberis satis ex-
 plorati habuerunt quales demum viri forent existituri:
 Sed suæ justitiæ esse existimantes, quanquam nec veteres
 cum Eurysthe similtates intercederent, neque mercedis
 quidquam proponi viderent præter illam laudis & gloriæ,
 tantum pro Heraclidarum salute discriminis subierunt:
 afflictorum misericordia, adfligentium odio ducti: Ho-
 rum injurias prohibere, illorum calamitatibus succurrere
 meditantes: atque secum cogitantes libertatis esse argu-
 mentum, nihil facere invitos, justitiæ, adflictis opitulari,⁵⁵
 magnanimitatis denique, pro utrisque, si res ita postula-
 verit, dimicando occumbere. Ad tantam denique animi
 obfirmationem utrinque erat perventum, ut Eurystheus
 jam noluit quidquam a volentibus per gratiam accipere,
 contendebant vero Athenienses Eurysthea jam ne precibus
 perfecturum ut eorum supplices abduceret. Legionibus
 igitur privatis instructis confertissimum & ex omni Pelo-
 ponneso conflatum exercitum bello repulere: & Postero-
 rum Herculis corpora extra formidinem posuere, animas
 ea sublata liberarunt, ob patris denique virtutem filios e-
 tiam suis periculis coronarunt, Adeo demum meliori for-
 tuna quam parens usi sunt liberi etiam prima ætate. Ille
 enim tametsi plurimorum bonorum cunctis mortalibus au-
 ctor existisset, sibi vitæ rationem operosam, bellicosam &
 exercitatissimam constituens, ceteros quidem injuriosos
 comprimebat, Eurysthea vero & inimicum & multarum
 injuriarum auctorem ulcisci non potuit: Cujus tamen li-
 beri

beri nostræ civitatis beneficio eodem die consecuti sunt, tum ut ii salvi essent tum ut ab inimicis justæ pœnæ repeterentur.

56 Igitur majoribus nostris multæ causæ ab initio suberant, quare sententiis adunatis pro justitia contenderent. Justa quippe fuere vitæ initia. Non enim, ut plurimi, colluvies undique collecta expulsis prioribus colonis alieno solo infedere, sed eodem innati quod incolunt, quæ illis sedes eandem originem habuere. Illi primi & soli ea tempestate paucorum dominationibus apud se deletis Democratiam instituere, existimantes communem omnium libertatem maximam & veram esse concordiam. Quare cum discrimina æquali invicem & communi spe adirentur, remp. liberis animis gerebant, bonos definitis legibus honorantes & malos coercentes. Existimabant enim belluarum esse a se invicem vi contineri, homines autem decere lege jus describere, oratione persuadere, revera autem hisce obtemperare, imperante lege, informante vero oratione. His itaque præclaris editi primordiis neque minora profecto aut vulgaria sentientes majores eorum qui hic jacent plurima egregia atque admirabilia prorsus præstiterunt: quorum posterius sua etiam virtute freti
57 præclarissima tropæa atque omni commemoratione digna ubique gentium reliquere. Soli namque pro universa Græcia contra multa barbarorum millia bis in aciem prodierunt. Rex enim Asiæ præsentibus fortunis neutiquam contentus, verum in animo spem concipiens se posse totam Europam in servitutem redigere, quingenta millia hominum exercitum transmisit. Hi autem rati, quod, si hanc civitatem vel blanditiis ad amicitiam pertraxerint vel ingratiis everterint, tum denique facillimum foret ceteris Græcis imperitare, in campum Marathonium descenderunt. Existimabant enim Græcos ita maxime sociis fore destitutos, si trepidante Græcia qua potissimum ratio-

ne invadentes repulerint, periculum facerent. Accedebat etiam, eos ex priore tempore gestis talem de nostra civitate cepisse opinionem, quod si adversus alium primo populum perrexerint, tum eos tum Athenienses hostes forent habituri, (quippe quos scirent injuria adfectis alacriter auxilio venturos) sin autem adversus hos primum aciem instituerint, nemo reliquorum Græcorum sustineret apertas inimicitias cum illis pro aliena salute suscipere. Hæc⁵⁸ illi ita secum reputabant. Majores autem nostri non mente solum & cogitatione complectentes belli pericula, verum arbitrati pulchram mortem immortale nomen apud bonos omnes relicturam, nequitiam reformidabant hostium multitudinem, sed potius in sua virtute salutem poni existimabant: & pudore adfecti quod jam eorum solum occupassent barbari, noluerunt expectare usque dum resciscerent socii & auxilio præsto essent, neque oportere existimabant se ceteris, sed sibi ceteros salutis gratias habere. Hæc cum omnes una sentirent, obviam processere pauci quamplurimis. Putabant enim decere se cum omnibus occumbere, fortis vero esse cum paucis, vitam alienam propter mortem reputare, gloriam vero ex periculis propriam & suam relinquere. Existimabant autem se, quos soli non potuerunt, ne cum sociis quidem posse vincere: fore autem ut devicti ceteros morte pauxillulum antecederent, victores vero etiam ceteros in libertatem vindicarent. Jam denique viros se fortissimos⁵⁹ exhibentes, neque corporibus parcentes, & præ virtute vitam etiam contemnentes, suas domi leges magis reveriti, quam periculum contra hostes metuentes, tropæa statuerunt pro Græcia de barbaris qui ex suis finibus quaestus causa excitati alienos præter fidem invasere. Ea vero celeritate rem confecerunt ut reliquis uno ore renunciaretur barbarorum adventus & majorum nostrorum victoria. Ac ceterorum quidem neminem sollicitum tenuit futurum

turum aliquod periculum, verum unusquisque eodem nuncio voluptatem ex sua salute confirmata percepit. Nihil itaque mirum si ob veteres res præclare gestas perinde atque si novæ fuissent, etiam hodie nostrorum majorum virtus omnibus hominibus summo esset in honore & admiratione.

Post hæc autem Xerxes Asiæ rex Græciam adspersus, suæque spe frustratus, dedecoratus ob res infelicitè gestas, cladem ægre ferens, auctoribus vero succensens, calamitatum impotens & qui fortissimos viros nunquam esset expertus, coactis per integrum decennium copiis, cum classe mille & ducentarum navium ad Græciam proficiscitur. Peditum autem adeo infinitam multitudinem secum duxit, ut operosum esset nationes quæ eum sequebantur vel nomine recensere. Quod vero est maximum multitudinis argumentum, id proferam. Nam cum illi liceret pedestres copias ex Asia in Europam mille navibus trajicere ad angustissimam Hellesponti partem, noluit, ratus id sibi non minimæ moræ futurum. Despectui igitur habitis rerum natura, Dei institutis & cunctorum mortalium fide, iter per mare, navigationem per solum vi instituit, juncto Hellesponto atque diffo Ato. Hunc sustinuit nemo, sed partim inviti parvere, partim se ultro dedidere. Nam alii quidem ad resistendum non satis erant instructi, alios labefactaverat pecunia. Hinc quæstus, inde persuasit metus. In hoc rerum Græcarum statu, Athenienses ipsi naves complent atque ad Artemisium auxilio proficiscuntur. Lacedæmonii vero & sociorum nonnulli ad Thermopylas occurrunt, existimantes se ob itineris angustias facile aditum munire posse. Inito utroque prælio sub eadem fere tempestate Athenienses quidem navali bello superiores exstiterè; Lacedæmonii vero non animis fracti sed utroque numero decepti, tum illorum quos una præsidio fore existimabant, tum illorum
cum

cum quibus erant dimicaturi, non ab hostibus superati, sed occumbentes quo loco constituti erant ad pugnandum. Ita Lacedæmoniis adversa fortuna usis, Barbaris transitu potitis, hi recta ad hanc urbem contendunt: Majores vero nostri accepta clade Lacedæmoniorum, incerti quid consilii in re tam ancipiti caperent, haud ignari, quod si pedestribus copiis obviam Barbaris procederent, illi cum mille navibus appellentes exinanitam urbem caperent: quod si naves conscenderent, eadem a pedestri exercitu caperetur: utrumque vero non potuerint, & hostibus obviam ire, & satis præsidii domi relinquere: duabus vero propositis condicionibus, utrum scilicet deferenda esset patria, an inita cum Barbaris societate Græ-⁶² cos in servitutem redigerent; rati potiolem esse cum virtute, cum inopia & fuga libertatem, quam cum opprobrio & divitiis conjunctam patriæ servitutem, deseruere urbem pro Græciæ fortunis: ut discretim adversus alteram, non adversus utramque simul aciem belli periculum facerent. Depositis igitur liberis, uxoribus & matribus Salamine, reliquorum sociorum classem congregarunt. Paucis diebus interjectis accessere Barbarorum terra marique copiæ, quas vel aspectando quis non perhorresceret? Quantum & quam grave discrimen tum temporis adiit nostra civitas pro communi Græciæ libertate? Qua autem mente fuisse judicatis tum eos qui ex terra classem illam intuerentur (ambigua propria salute, & periculo jam instante) tum eos qui jam erant navibus dimicaturi pro maxima necessitudine, pro iis belli præmiis quæ apud Salaminios reponebantur? Tanta undique circumstet hostium multitudo, ut omnium quæ aderant malorum levissimum judicarent suam mortem prævidere, gravissimam⁶³ vero calamitatem, ea quæ a barbaris, si superiores existerint, Deportatos passuros expectabant.

Illi certe ob præsentis angustias sæpenumero dextras junxere,

junxere, suasque vices jure deplorabant; suarum navium
 paucitatem, adversariorum multitudinem videntes: scie-
 bant præterea urbis solitudinem, devastatum agrum & bar-
 baris refertum, (fanis deorum incensis, extremis omnibus
 paratis & prope jam instantibus) audiebant eodem tem-
 pore commisceri Græcum & barbaricum Pæana, utramque
 classem suos adhortari, & pereuntium tristes ejulatus, ma-
 ri cadaveribus referto, fractisque plurimis & amicorum
 & hostium navibus, & prælio per diutinum tempus an-
 cipiti, aliquando existimantes se superare & salvos fieri,
 aliquando debellari & periisse. Illi certe ob instantem
 terrorem multa vidisse existimarunt quæ non videbant,
 multa audivisse quorum nihil audiebant. Quæ deorum
 non factæ sunt supplicationes aut mentiones sacrificio-
 rum? Qui puerorum fletus, uxorum desideria, paren-
 tumque lamentationes? Tum autem tristis malorum com-
 putatio quæ superatos erant sequutura? Quem deum non
 corum miseresceret propter periculi immanitatem? Quis
 hominum non eos lacrymis prosequeretur? Aut quis ec-
 rum magnanimitatem non summa haberet in admiratione?
 Illi certe virtute longe ceteris hominibus præstiterunt cum
 in consiliis ineundis tum in rebus gerendis: qui urbem
 deferere sustinebant, & navibus conscensis suas animas nu-
 mero paucas opponere Asiæ multitudini in unum conle-
 ctæ. Ex eo autem conflictu cum superiores discessissent,
 omnibus significarunt potius esse paucos pro sua libertate
 dimicare quam multos dominatione oppressos pro aliena
 servitute. Majores igitur nostri ad Græciæ libertatem
 plurima & præclarissima contulerunt, ducem quidem The-
 mistoclem, lingua, consilio & rebus gerendis summum,
 classem autem majorem quam reliqui socii omnes, tum ve-
 ro milites usu & experientia exercitatissimos. Quem-
 quamne igitur populum ex tota Græcia cum iis consilio,
 numero vel virtute contendere? Jure igitur primas istius

belli laudes a Græcis sine ulla controversia reportarunt, fortunam periculorum magnitudini æqualem merito sunt adepti, suamque virtutem barbaris Asiaticis veram esse & genuinam comprobarunt. Cum hujusmodi igitur in ea naumachia se præstitissent, & laboris & periculi longe majorem partem sustulissent, privata virtute publicam libertatem & ceteris compararunt.

Deinde autem cum Peloponnesenses Isthmum muro claudere instituerint, & satis duxerint sibi salutem fuisse comparatam, existimantes se jam ab omni maritimo periculo esse liberatos, & in animo habentes Græcorum ceteros otiose spectare prædæ barbaris factos, ibi majores nostri ira commoti admonere, ut, si ita essent animati, totam potius Peloponnesum muro cingerent. Fore enim, ut, si ipsi a Græcis proditi barbaris essent adjuncti, neque ipsis opus esset mille navibus, neque illos adjuvaret in Isthmo murus: imperium quippe maris impune sub Rege esse futurum. Igitur admoniti & existimantes se quidem inju-⁶⁶ riose agere & male consulere, Athenienses vero & iusta dicere & quæ forent illis utilissima admonere, Platæas auxilio venere. Sub noctem vero sociorum plurimis ex acie dilapsis ob hostium multitudinem Lacedæmonii & Tegeatæ barbaros in fugam vertere; Athenienses vero & Platæenses eos Græcos debellarunt qui de libertate desperabant & servitutem sustinere. In eo autem die præclarissimum finem imponentes superioribus periculis Europæ stabilem libertatem compararunt, & in omnibus periculis suam virtutem demonstrantes, cum soli, tum in societate, terra marique, & in barbaros & in Græcos, ab omnibus digni sunt habiti, cum a fociis tum ab hostibus, qui duces Græciæ forent.

Interjecto tempore, conflato bello Græco ob præteri-⁶⁷ torum æmulationem, rerumque gestarum invidiam, cum omnes præclara omnia sentirent, singuli levissimam criminationem

minationem exspectarent, Athenienses adversus Æginetas eorumque socios navali bello dimicantes septuaginta triremes cepere. Sub idem vero tempus cum Athenienses & Ægyptum & Æginam armis infestarent, aberantque ii qui per ætatem in armis esse poterant vel navibus vel in terrestri militia, Corinthii eorumque socii existimantes se vel in loca indefensa posse irrumpere, vel exercitum ab Ægina revocare, universo milite egressi Geraneam occuparunt. Athenienses vero, neminem eorum qui vel longius aberant, vel qui prope adessent, accersere voluere: Sed propria virtute confisi, & invadentes adspernati, seniores & impuberes per se solos periculum adire sustinebant: virtutem illi experientia, hi genere consecuti, cum illi plurimis in locis rem ipsi fortiter gessissent, hi vero illos imitarentur: Senioribus imperare doctis, junioribus
 68 imperata facere valentibus. Et duce Myronida ipsi ad Megaricam obviam euntes omnes eorum copias pugnando devicere, cum militibus partim ætate fractis, partim nondum confirmata, iis in alienum solum occurrentes qui in suum impetum facere in animo habuissent, & Tropæum statuentes, rerum a se pulcherrime gestarum, hostibus vero turpissimarum, illi jam non amplius, hi nondum robore valentes: utrique tamen animorum viribus superantes, cum pulcherrima gloria domum reversi, hi rursus disciplinis instituebantur, illi de futuris consultabant.

Sed non levis est operæ res a multis præclare gestas ab uno singulatim recenseri, & per omne tempus perpetratas in uno die exponi. Quod enim tempus, quæ oratio, qui rhetor par erit enarrandæ eorum hominum virtuti qui hic sepeliuntur? Hi enim laboribus quam plurimis, conspicuis maxime certaminibus, periculisque pulcherrimis Græciam in libertatem vindicabant, suamque patriam summam reddidere: imperio maris per annos septuagin-
 69 ta potiti, sociosque a seditione immunes præstantes: Non

plurimos comparantes ut paucis servirent, sed omnibus ad æqualitatem coactis: non socios adfligentes, verum etiam illos confirmantes, suasque viris istiusmodi demonstrantes, ut magnus rex non jam amplius aliena adpeteret, sed & de suis aliquid remitteret & de residuo etiam pertimesceret. Neque per ea tempora triremes ex Asia navigabant, neque tyrannus inter Græcos excitatus est, neque urbs aliqua Græca a barbaris in servitutem redacta est. Eam demum moderationem & metum horum hominum virtus universis mortalibus conciliavit. Quibus de causis hos solos cum Græcis præfectos tum duces urbium esse convenit.

Quinetiam & in rebus adversis suam virtutem exprobebant. Absumpta enim classe in Hellesponto, sive id ducis vitio, sive deorum voluntate contigerit, eaque calamitate maxima illata cum nobis qui præcipue pertulimus, tum ceteris etiam Græcis, declararunt non multo postea, hujus civitatis potentiam Græciæ esse salutem. Imperio enim ad alios translato, Græcos mari superarunt⁷⁰ qui antea navem non conscenderant, & in Europam navigarunt. Protinus in servitutem ducuntur Græcorum urbes, constituuntur tyranni, partim post nostram calamitatem, partim post barbarorum victoriam. Quamobrem tum Græciæ convenit ad hunc tumulum tonderi, eosque qui hic sepulti sunt lugere, quasi eorum libertas pariter cum istorum virtute sepulta fuisset. O infelicem Græciam talibus viris orbatam! Fortunatum vero Asiæ regem, qui alios nactus sit Græciæ imperatores! Illi enim hisce destitutæ oborta est servitus; huic vero, aliis imperantibus, æmulatio majorum consilii & instituti.

Atque ad hæc pro universa Græcia lamentanda avocabar. Eos autem homines decet & privatim & publice commemorare, qui servitutem fugientes, & pro jure decertantes, & pro populari statu dimicantes, omnes homines

71 mines nacti hostes, in Piræum descendebant, non legibus
coacti, sed a natura persuasi, novis periculis antiquam
majorum virtutem æmulati, suæ vitæ discrimine civitatem
etiam cum aliis communem comparantes, mortem cum
libertate conjunctam potius eligentes quam vitam cum
servitute, non minus ob domesticas calamitates pudore
adfecti, quam hostibus succensentes, cupientes potius in
sua patria emori, quam vivere in aliena, socios nacti ju-
ramenta & fœdera, hostes vero præter olim insensos tum
suos etiam cives. At ne sic quidem adversariorum multi-
tudinem metuentes, sed in suis corporibus periculum po-
nentes, tropæum contra hostes statuerunt, suæque virtutis
testimonia exhibent Lacedæmoniorum tumulos non
longe ab hoc sepulchro sitos. Quinetiam suam civitatem
pro parva magnam præstiterunt, pro seditiosa unanimem,
72 murosque pro dirutis erexerunt. Ex iis vero qui redie-
runt, consilio usi eorum factis qui hic jacent consimili,
non ad hostes ulciscendos, sed ad civitatem conservandam
sefe applicuere: & cum neque poterant pati se diminu-
tum iri, neque quidquam suis fortunis accedere expete-
bant, suam libertatem communicabant cum iis qui servi-
tutem suscipere vellent, eorum vero servitutem sibi com-
municari nolebant. Rebus vero maximis & præclarissime
gestis quasi argumentis significabant, neque ex sua inertia
neque hostium virtute modo succubuisse civitatem. Si e-
nim inter se invicem discordantes vel invitis præsto Pe-
loponnesensibus ceterisque hostibus in suam patriam po-
terant reverti, manifestum est quod unanimes si fuissent,
facile cum illis concertare potuissent. Illi igitur ob dis-
crimina in Piræo omnium hominum admirationem sunt
consecuti. Decet vero & hospites etiam qui hic jacent
laudare, qui reip. nostræ auxilio venientes, & pro nostra
salute dimicantes, virtutem patriam rati, hujuscemodi vi-
tæ exitum sibi paravere. Pro quibus beneficiis eos civi-

tas publico & luctu & sepultura decoravit, iisque honoribus in omne tempus ornari voluit, quibus ornentur sui cives.

Qui vero nunc sepeliuntur, Corinthiis a veteribus amicis injuria affectis auxiliantes & communes socii facti, non eandem quam Lacedæmonii mentem præstiterunt. Hi enim eorum fortunis invidebant, illi autem injuria oppressos miserabantur, non veterum similitudinem memores, sed præsentem amicitiam magni æstimantes, virtutem suam cunctis mortalibus claram exhibentes. Ausi sunt enim Græciam illustrem reddentes, non solum pro sua salute periclitari, verum etiam pro hostium libertate interire. Nam cum Lacedæmoniorum sociis conjuncti pro eorum libertate dimicabant. Si igitur vicissent, hos eadem atque illos conditione uti dignati essent. Sin autem victi essent, servitutem omnibus in Peloponneso certam reliquissent. Eis igitur ita animatis vita erat miseranda, mors autem optabilis. Hi vero tum vita tum morte invidendi, qui in pueritia instituebantur majorum præclare gestis, & viri facti cum majorum gloriam conservarunt, tum suam etiam virtutem demonstrarunt. Multorum enim & insignium suæ patriæ causæ⁷³ exstiterunt, aliorum res infeliciter gestas correxerunt bellumque longe a patriæ finibus amoverunt. Id demum mortis genus obierunt, quod fortes obire decet, patriæ nimirum educationis præmia persolventes, & parentibus lugendi causam relinquentes. Superstitibus igitur decet horum desiderio affici, se ipsos lamentari, eorumque adfines miserari propter reliquum vitæ spatium. Quænam etenim eis oblectatio relinquatur, hujusmodi viris sepultis, qui omnia virtute minora ducentes, suas vitas projicere, uxores viduas, liberosque orbos reliquere, fratres vero cum parentibus desertos constituere? Hæc vero cum multa & gravia sint, liberorum tamen fortunas laudo, quod

quod ea sint infantia ut pernoscere non possint qualibus patribus sint orbat, miseret vero parentum, quod ea sint ætate, ut domesticas calamitates oblivisci jam non possint. Quid enim his acerbius accidere possit, quam liberos suscipere, alere & condere, defunctis viribus in senectute, omni spe destitutos, sine amicis, sine auxilio? Eis quibus olim erant invidiæ nunc esse misericordiæ? Mortemque eis vita esse desiderabiliorem? Quanto enim illi fortiores viri exstiterunt, tanto gravius desiderium superstitibus reliquerunt. Quo pacto autem illos lugere desinere oportebit? Anne in civitatis calamitatibus? Tum vero horum meminisse & alios quoque contigerit. An in publicis fortunis? Tum vero tempus erit dolendi, cum sui liberi mortem oppetiere, eorum autem virtutis fructum consequantur qui superfuerunt. Anne in privatis periculis? Cum viderint priores amicos eorum solitudinem fugere, inimicos autem in horum infortuniis magna cogitare. Eam igitur solam gratiam referre posse videmur eis qui hic jacent, si eorum parentes plurimi illorum ad instar faciamus, liberosque parentum loco diligamus, conjugibus demum præsto esse auxilio nos comparemus uti illi in vita fuerunt. Quos enim jure magis honoremus quam qui hic sepeliuntur? Quos inter vivos rectius plurimi faciamus, quam eorum adfines? Qui eorum virtutis fructum cum ceteris communicatum percepere, solos autem justus ex morte dolor adtingebat. Sed hæc non esse lamentanda video. Neque enim nos fugit mortales esse. Quid igitur opus est, quæ olim exspectavimus pati, eorum cura nunc angi, aut naturæ calamitates tam graviter ferre, cum novimus mortem & pessimis & optimis esse communem? Neque enim malos dispicit, neque bonos admiratur, sed se ipsam omnibus æqualem exhibet. Si igitur fieri potuisset ut ii qui ex belli periculis salvæ evadant in posterum immortales fierent, par erat nimirum

rum ut superstites perpetuo luctu mortuos prosequerentur. Jam vero natura nostra morbis & senectute minor est, & deus cui fors nostra obtigerit, inexorabilis. Quare oportet illos felicissimos judicare qui pro maximis & pulcherrimis periclitantes ita ex vita excefferunt: non fortunæ permittentes ut de se statueret, neque mortem ultro venientem expectantes, sed eligentes pulcherrimam. Eorum igitur memoriæ nunquam senescunt, & honores omnibus hominibus erunt invidiæ: qui ob naturæ conditionem lugentur ut mortales, propter vero virtutem semper ut immortales prædicantur. Efferuntur ergo publice, eorumque in honorem instituuntur certamina roboris, sapientiæ & divitiarum, quasi fas esset ut qui in bello occubuerunt iisdem honoribus quibus dii immortales decorentur. Eos igitur ob mortem fortunatos prædico & æmulor, solisque his mortalium duco melius esse quod nascerentur, quoniam cum mortalia nacti sint corpora, memoriam ex virtute immortalem reliquerunt. Veruntamen necesse est antiquis moribus uti, patrioque instituto obtemperantes lamentari eos qui hic sepeliuntur.

HYPERIDÆ FUNEB. ORAT.

FRAGMENTUM.

Res est forsitan difficilis, illos consolari, qui hujusmodi affectibus laborant. Luctus enim neque ratione neque lege sopiuntur. Verum natura cujusque & amicitia erga defunctum, lugendi terminum continet. Animo tamen erigi oportet, ac tristitiam, quoad fieri potest, minuire: atque meminisse non solum funeris defunctorum, sed etiam virtutis, quam reliquerunt. Non enim lacrymis digna passi sunt, sed magnis laudibus celebranda facta ediderunt. Quod si mortalem senectam non attigerunt, immortalem tamen gloriam consecuti sunt, & per omnia felices evaserunt. Nam quotquot ipsorum sine liberis decesserunt, Graciæ laudes veluti liberos immortales habebunt. Illis vero qui prolem reliquerunt, patriæ benevolentia instar tutoris erit erga liberos. Ad hæc si mori & natum non esse similia sunt, immunes posthac erunt a morbis, dolore, aliisque humanæ vitæ casibus. Sin etiam a morte sensus aliquis est, & numinis providentia, ut arbitramur, nimirum illi qui deorum honores operâ suâ promoverunt, maximam divinitus beatitudinem assequuntur.